Vol. X., No. 37 *March, 1921*

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REPORT OF THE DIRECTORS

OF

THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

Submitted to the Shareholders at their Ordinary General Meeting held on **Monday, the 31st day of January, 1921.**

The Directors submit herewith the Statement of Accounts for the half-year ending 31st December, 1920.

After providing for rebate on bills, interest on deposits, and bad and doubtful debts and contingencies, the net profits for the half-year amount to ..	£45,129	11	2
To which has to be added —			
Balance of undivided profits from last Account	10,158	7	4
	£55,287	18	6
The Directors have transferred to the Reserve Fund	£10,000	0	0
And to Credit of Investments Account	10,000	0	0
They recommend that the balance be applied as follows, viz. :—			
In payment of a dividend for the half-year at the rate of Eight per cent. per annum (subject to deduction of Income Tax)	20,000	0	0
To next Account	15,287	18	6
	£55,287	18	6

The sub-branches in Delvin and Trim have been converted into permanent branches of the Bank, and a sub-branch has been opened in Athboy.

It is proposed that the remuneration of the Directors be increased from £1,800 to £2,500 per annum (free of income tax) as from 1st January, 1921, and a Resolution to that effect will be submitted to the Meeting.

The Directors retiring by rotation are MR. MARTIN FRANCIS MAHONY, J.P., and MR. THOMAS LEVINS MOORE, J.P., who, being eligible, offer themselves for re-election.

In accordance with the provisions of the Companies (Consolidation) Act, 1908, it will be necessary for the Shareholders to elect an Auditor for the ensuing year. MR. JEREMIAH BUCKLEY, the present Auditor, offers himself for re-election.

By Order of the Board,

ALFRED T. COLLINS,
General Manager.

DUBLIN, 14th January, 1921.

THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED.

Dr. BALANCE SHEET, 31st DECEMBER, 1920. Cr.

LIABILITIES.	£ s. d.		ASSETS.	£ s. d.	
To Capital, viz. :—100,000 Shares of £20 each—£2,000,000 ; amount paid up, £5 per Share	500,000 0 0		By Cash in hand and with Bankers ...	2,743,436 14 3	
,, Reserve Fund	180,000 0 0		,, Treasury Bills	750,000 0 0	
,, Deposit, Current, and other Credit Accounts, including Interest due on Deposits	14,233,099 13 11		,, Investments, viz. :— War Loans and other Government Stocks	5,026,054 0 0	
,, Sundry Agents	3,207 9 0		Colonial Government Stocks, Corporation Stocks, Railway Debenture Stocks and Mortgage Bonds, and other Securities ...	814,292 17 9	
,, Officers' Superannuation Fund (of which £42,133 12s. 1d. is invested as per contra)	43,693 5 1			9,333,783 12 0	
,, Rebate on Bills Discounted not at maturity	12,421 12 3		,, Investment, a/c Officers' Superannuation Fund :—£45,000 5 per cent. War Stock, 1929-1947 ...	42,133 12 1	
,, Profit and Loss Account £55,287 18 6			,, Bills Discounted, Advances on Current Accounts, Loans, etc.	5,443,541 17 0	
Less : Transferred to Reserve Fund £10,000			,, Sundry Agents	41,875 18 3	
Placed to Credit of Investment Account £10,000	20,000 0 0		,, Bank Premises and Furniture (Head Offices and 55 Branches), written down to	146,374 19 5	
	35,287 18 6				
	£15,007,709 18 9			£15,007,709 18 9	

PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT for Half-year ending 31st December, 1920.

	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
To Expenses of Management, including Directors' Fees, Salaries, Pensions and Allowances, Bonuses and Grants to Staff, Rents, Rates, Repairs, Inland Revenue Taxes, and all other outlay ...	92,538 4 1	By Balance from last Account ...	10,158 7 4
,, Amount transferred to Reserve Fund	10,000 0 0	,, Gross Profits for Half-year, after providing for Rebate on Bills, Interest on Deposits, and Bad and Doubtful Debts and Contingencies	137,667 15 3
,, Amount placed to Credit of Investments Account	10,000 0 0		
,, Dividend to be paid in Feby., 1921, subject to deduction of Income Tax ... ... £ s. d. 20,000 0 0			
,, Balance to next Acct. 15,287 18 6	35,287 18 6		
	£147,826 2 7		£147,826 2 7

AUDITOR'S REPORT.

I have obtained all the information and explanations I have required in the course of my examination in detail of the foregoing Profit and Loss Account and Balance Sheet.

I have verified the Investments. Those redeemable at par or over par on fixed dates (including the War Stocks and War Bonds) stand in the Balance Sheet at under cost price, and all the other Investments at the market prices current on 31st December, 1920. I have also verified the Cash and Bills in hand at the Head Office.

The Balance Sheet is, in my opinion, properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Company's affairs according to the best of my information and the explanations given to me, and as shown by the Books of the Company and the Certified Returns from the several Branches.

JEREMIAH BUCKLEY (KEAN & Co.),
Chartered Accountant, Auditor.

DUBLIN, 14th January, 1921.

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THE POLITICAL IMPOTENCE OF BRITISH LABOUR.

BY HENRY SOMERVILLE, M.A.

THE British Labour Party is being regarded with special interest by the friends of Ireland since its Commission of Enquiry published its indictment of the methods of British rule in Ireland and since the Party itself advertised an active campaign throughout England in favour of a bold measure of Irish self-government. What will be the result of this effort by British Labour? Will public opinion be impressed? Will the present Government find its position dangerously assaulted? Irishmen are asking these questions, but it does not appear that their faith in British Labour is very robust. Mr. J. W. Good's article in the December number of STUDIES expressed the prevailing scepticism of British Labour taking effective action to realise its professed programme for the settlement of the Irish question.

To be definite I will state at the beginning of this article my own answer to the questions that I suppose Irishmen to be asking. The answer is that British Labour will do nothing. The Report of the Labour Commission will be forgotten before these lines are in print. The Labour Party's Irish programme will not even be debated. I shall thank heaven if I prove to be wrong in these predictions; but I fear they are only too certain.

Irishmen will be mistaken, however, if they think that the ineffectiveness of British Labour argues some

special insincerity in its attitude to Ireland. The truth is that British Labour is a negligible factor in politics altogether. It has no influence either in Parliament or in the country. It has not successfully asserted its view on any single political issue since the election of 1918. The Government do not fear it, and the public does not trust it. These statements may be surprising, because there has grown up a vague impression that Labour in Britain has made wonderful progress since the war, and that a Labour Government is a probability of the near future.

To dissipate this legend of Labour's power one has only to ask: "Has Labour secured the adoption of a single one of its political aims since the Armistice?" The answer is in the negative. Labour's record is of nothing but failure, of failure so complete that one has difficulty in remembering what its efforts were. There was some energy put into the campaign for nationalisation of the mines, which was Labour's greatest post-war political effort; but it was a total failure. Labour also advocated a Capital Levy, but only feebly, and it is seldom heard of now. What other proposal in regard to home politics (excluding the Irish question) is associated with Labour? None at all, for it is too soon as yet to include the unemployment question in our review. Labour has not had a programme that could be advertised, much less adopted.

In foreign politics Labour has advocated the recognition of the Soviet Government and the resumption of trade with Russia. The attitude of Labour may have been right, but it has not imposed its views on the Government. The Government have flirted with every policy in regard to Russia, the Labour policy among them, but it has not been due to any pressure exerted by the Labour Party. On all the questions arising out of the execution of the Peace Treaty Labour has not been a factor one way or the other. One would not complain

of Labour being outvoted in divisions by the vast Coalition majority. The point is that Labour has not made itself heard effectively on any question. The whole party has been of less Parliamentary account than a single individual like Commander Kenworthy.

We come to the question of Poland. It is widely supposed that in this particular case Labour did secure a triumph, and by means of the Council of Action last August deflected the Government from their intended course of joining with Poland in making war upon Soviet Russia. It cannot be proved that the Council of Action really did deter the Government. The Government did not go to the rescue of Poland, because in the event Poland won an astonishing victory without British aid. The circumstances in which there might have arisen a conflict between the Government and the Council of Action did not arise. I shall show that the Council of Action knew the circumstances would not arise; for it took care to adopt a position that was absolutely safe, harmless and useless. In other words, the Council of Action was a deliberate sham. Mr. Good, in his article in STUDIES, refers to a suggestion that the Council of Action was partly instigated by Mr. Lloyd George himself as a means of impressing French opinion. I cannot speak on the correctness of that secret history; but from what is common public knowledge it can be made evident that the Council of Action made no real challenge to the Government, that the Council was a mere dummy, that it simply made a display, as Mr. Lloyd George justly said, of swinging a sledge-hammer at an open door.

The policy of the Council of Action was set forth at the Joint Labour Conference held in the Central Hall on August 13. The resolution stating the policy began with the words :—

> "That this Conference of trade union and Labour representatives hails with satisfaction the Russian Government's declaration in favour of the complete independence of Poland."

After much more or less vague declamation the resolution went on to say :—

"The Conference authorises the Council of Action to call for any and every withdrawal of labour which circumstances may require to give effect to the foregoing policy."

The policy in question was mainly to prevent active military aid being given to Poland, though there was also a demand for the full recognition of the Soviet Government, the withdrawal of the blockade and unrestricted trading with Russia. The Council of Action was to remain in being until these ends had been secured.

In estimating the value of the decisions announced at the Central Hall Conference the first point to note is that, though "authorised" by the Conference to "call for" any and every withdrawal of labour, the Council of Action never had any authority to declare a strike in any single industry. The separate trade unions alone can declare strikes, and they never delegated any of their powers to the Council of Action. All that the Council of Action could do was to recommend a strike; the decision would rest with the individual trade unions. But it is still more important to note that the resolution began by assuming the independence of Poland to be assured. Now if in the event the independence of Poland had been violated, it could easily have been pleaded that what followed in the resolution did not impose any obligation on the Council of Action at all. In other words the Labour Conference simply said to the Government: "We threaten to strike if you help Poland in fighting Russia when Russia respects the independence of Poland." There is no threat to strike against aiding Poland if Poland's independence is violated by Russia. This attitude on the part of Labour was an intelligible, and perhaps the correct one. But the threat to strike was quite superfluous because the Government had recently stated with all clearness, emphasis and reiteration that it would not intervene to aid Poland unless Poland's

independence was violated. The Council of Action merely threatened to call for a strike in the event of the Government changing its declared policy. The Government did not change its policy ; but it is, of course, possible though not plausible to say that the Government would have changed its policy had it not been for the Council of Action. Labour spokesmen attributed sinister designs to the Cabinet and especially to Mr. Churchill. If there were such designs they belong to secret history, of which I know nothing. But it seems odd that the British Government should have courted odium in France and still stronger hostility of feeling in Poland by declaring for a policy detested by those two countries when the policy was never seriously meant. What the Government said was : " We shall allow Poland to stew in her own juice. She has provoked this war ; she deserves to be punished. She deserves to lose territory and she deserves to be disarmed. Yet she does not deserve to be destroyed altogether, and moreover her independence is a vital part of the structure of the Peace of Versailles. Therefore, though we shall permit the Bolshevists to mete out hard terms to Poland, we shall not allow the violation of her independence." This is a paraphrase of the speech made by Mr. Lloyd George in the House of Commons on August 10 and on earlier occasions. The British policy was execrated in France, to say nothing of Poland. Yet if the Government really meant to do more for Poland than they declared they would do, why make themselves unpopular with Allies for nothing ?

The Council of Action, therefore, did not undertake to make the Government change its declared policy, but only to act up to it. According to all the evidence the Council was simply forcing an open door. Within a few days of the Central Hall Conference Labour leaders like Mr. Thomas and Mr. Clynes were admitting that no strike was contemplated " if Russia has lied to us," as Mr. Thomas said—that is, if Russia did attempt to violate

Polish independence. And when it became evident that Russia, besides disarming the forces under the control of the Polish Government, proposed to arm certain sections of the Polish proletariat and thus constitute a Red Guard, Labour leaders were ready to admit that the imposition of such a condition on Poland was a violation of her independence. There was no difference between the policy of the Government and that of Labour on the question of aiding Poland. Labour had no reason to think it would be called on to make effective the threat of a general strike. The Council of Action was, as I have said, a sham, or in the words of Mr. Lloyd George : " This swinging of a sledge-hammer at an open door is only intended for display."

We may conclude that Labour accomplished nothing with regard to Poland. If it were worth while to pursue the matter, we might quote the resolution of the Central Hall Conference instructing the Council of Action to remain in being until various aims were achieved, among them being the lifting of the blockade, the full recognition of the Soviet Government, and unrestricted trading with Russia. The Council of Action remains in being ; but it has never done anything since August to further these aims.

The drafting of the resolution at the Central Hall Conference was characteristic of the tactics now habitual with Labour Conferences. The important thing in that resolution was the first sentence, which asserted that the independence of Poland was guaranteed. It was not put forward clearly as a clause conditioning all the remainder of the resolution, but that is what it was. It was what the Americans call " a joker," a concealed means of making the whole document nugatory. At every big Labour Conference held last year there was the same juggling, the same studied ambiguity in the resolutions. It will be instructive to mention some of the instances. The first is the least cynical, and it is

in connection with the Labour Party resolution on Ireland at its annual conference at Scarborough. That resolution may have meant anything, and the *New Statesman*, in a burst of annoyance with Mr. Henderson because of his lack of candour, bluntly stated that the ambiguity of the resolution was deliberate. Most readers will know that the *New Statesman* is an able and loyal supporter of the Labour Party, and that its principal editorial direction comes from Mr. Sidney Webb. It was after Lord Grey, Mr. Asquith, and Mr. Arthur Henderson had written notable letters to the newspapers on Irish policy that the *New Statesman* spoke its mind in the following paragraph, which I take from the issue of October 9th, 1919 :—

> " Mr. Henderson's letter to the *Times*, *apropos* of Mr. Asquith's declaration on Ireland, seems to us rather a childish attempt to claim for the Labour Party credit to which obviously it is not entitled. The truth is that on this question the Labour leaders, during the past six months, have showed a marked lack of courage, as we have pointed out more than once in these columns. Mr. Henderson complains that Lord Grey and Mr. Asquith do not go far enough towards offering Ireland real freedom. The latter, at any rate, have gone substantially beyond any declaration that had previously been made by Mr. Henderson or any of his leading colleagues. The Scarborough resolution, to which Mr. Henderson referred, was deliberately modified so as to make its real meaning more ambiguous, and the leaders of the Labour Party in the House of Commons have persistently refused to answer questions designed to clear up that ambiguity. It is too late now for Mr. Henderson to come forward and assure us that what they really wished was that the most extreme interpretation should be placed upon their indefinite phrases."

A still more shameless exhibition of insincerity was given at the special Trades Union Congress held in London on July 13th last to consider action on the Irish question. At that Congress a resolution was passed in favour of " direct action," that is to say, a withdrawal of labour in order to force a certain Irish policy on the Government. But the resolution was passed merely by

a fluke, or rather because one union was trying to score a point over another union. It is a rather complicated story which I shall make as short as possible. The refusal of Irish railwaymen to handle munitions in Ireland involved the National Union of Railwaymen of which Mr. J. H. Thomas is Secretary. The N.U.R. and Mr. Thomas did not want a quarrel either with their Dublin members or their Belfast members. So they called an All-Ireland Congress to decide the question, knowing that the Congress would certainly come to no agreement; but it would enable the N.U.R. Executive to say that, as their Irish members were divided, the Union as a whole could not take the side of one against the other. So when the Irish members of the N.U.R. were dismissed for refusing to handle munitions the N.U.R. called no sympathetic strike.

Yet the N.U.R. had to do something to make it appear that it was not merely leaving its dismissed Irish members to their fate. It then made the plea that the Irish question was too big to be settled by one section of the workers alone. The whole trade union movement should decide on common action. Therefore, a special Trades Union Congress was called by the railwaymen. In doing this the railwaymen may have known they were running the risk of embarrassment. In the controversy on "direct action" which divided the Labour movement the railwaymen had been the most important opponents of direct action, whilst the miners had been its chief supporters. It was rather inconsistent of opponents of direct action to call an industrial body like the Trades Union Congress to discuss the Irish question, which was political. The railwaymen were guilty of this inconsistency, and the miners laid a trap for them. The miners sought to make the railwaymen choose between the acceptance of a policy of direct action or confession of the fact that they had no policy at all.

The railwaymen put before the Congress a high-

sounding resolution calling upon both the Government and Sinn Fein to do various things. Sinn Fein was asked to stop outrages; the Government were asked to withdraw the troops from Ireland, and when a truce had been thus established there was to be opened forthwith an Irish Parliament with full Dominion powers. The miners then moved another resolution to the effect that, if the Government did not carry out Labour's demands, each union should take a vote on the question of a general strike! The railwaymen's resolution made demands, but carried no sanction, as a lawyer might say. It did not provide for Labour doing anything in the event of the Government refusing to comply with the demands. The miners' resolution was more or less like the railwaymen's in its call for a truce and for Dominion Home Rule, but it added a sanction in the shape of a strike ballot, if not a strike. The Congress did not care for the miners' resolution, because it was much too definite. Yet there was no resisting the miners' logic. Accordingly, the Congress passed both resolutions. The delegates knew that an absurd situation had arisen; for with the passing of both resolutions the position was so complicated that nobody could say with certainty what was decided and what was not. One delegate asked the Chairman, Mr. J. H. Thomas, what action would be taken if both resolutions were passed. "I cannot say," replied Mr. Thomas. "And nobody else," added a chorus of voices. Another delegate shouted out: "You have decided to take direct action. When will you take it?" "The answer is," said Mr. Thomas, "wait and see."

It is unnecessary to say that following this Congress, which caused some stir at the time, no action at all was taken.

The history of Labour's treatment of the vexed question of direct action may now be recalled. We shall not start at the beginning of a very tortuous story; for that would make it too long. Our starting-point will

be the special Trades Union Congress on Direct Action held in London, December, 1919. Most fearsome speeches were then delivered by Tom Mann and Jack Jones and Bob Smillie. But the resolution passed was characteristically non-committal. The following was its principal part :—

"That this Congress, having heard the report on the Nationalisation of the Mines, decides to defer its decision until an adjourned Congress, which shall be held after the reassembling of Parliament in February ; and that at such adjourned Congress the trade union movement will be called upon to give effect to Clause (*c*) of the Nationalisation resolution of the Glasgow Trades Union Congress, 1919, unless the Government have, in the interim, decided to introduce legislation accepting the principle of nationalisation of the coal mines."

This will no doubt have whetted the curiosity of the reader as to the nature of Clause (*c*) of the Glasgow Trades Union Congress, 1919. Clause (*c*) is as follows :—

"In the event of the Government still refusing to accept this position [nationalisation] a special congress shall be convened for deciding the form of action to be taken to compel the Government to accept the majority report of the [Sankey] Commission."

Observe that Clause (*c*) committed the trade unions only to the holding of a special congress to decide what they would do. Besides the special congress in December, 1919, they held another special congress in February, 1920, when the farce that had been played so long came to an end and the resolution in favour of direct action to compel the Government to nationalise the mines was defeated by nearly three million votes.

The consequence of all this make-believe in the Labour movement has been disheartenment and demoralisation in its own ranks and the loss of public confidence. No party could have desired better political chances than the Labour Party had after the election of 1918. The Opposition Liberals were out of favour, yet the electors

were clearly disposed to vote against Coalition candidates. The swing of the pendulum is a potent force in British politics, and Labour was getting the full benefit of it in by-elections. Mr. Lloyd George became frankly alarmed, and he floated his fusion scheme as the only way of saving the country from getting under the power of a Socialist Party. The fusion scheme failed, but already Labour's tide was ebbing. It suffered severe defeats at a succession of by-elections and it ceased to attract the distinguished people, like Lord Haldane, who were hailing the Labour Party as the rising sun. The municipal elections in November showed a reaction against Labour in local politics all through the country.

That there is something rotten in the state of the Labour Party is beyond doubt. It has been signally ineffective in Parliament, and it has lost a large amount of the public confidence that was given to it. The decline of Labour is not due to any growing popularity of the Coalition. We have seen Mr. Bottomley and Lord Northcliffe run candidates successfully against the Coalition machine. The trouble is that the Labour Party is a party without principle, without any common doctrine or interest uniting its members. What makes its state worse is that it has committed itself to giving lip-service to certain principles, or phraseology implying principles, in which its strongest leaders do not believe, but which they will not plainly repudiate. A number of socialistic shibboleths have been foisted on the Labour movement which are popular with Labour audiences, and are therefore exploited by speakers who know them to be fallacious. Direct Action was never believed in by more than a small minority of the leaders ; but the majority who disbelieved in it preferred to shelve the question at repeated " special " congresses rather than decide on it. I doubt whether the majority of the leaders have any belief in " Nationalisation," and it is certain that the majority of the workers have not ; for, apart from other evidences, the Labour

campaign to arouse public opinion in favour of the nationalisation of the coal mines was a dismal failure. Indeed it is impossible to say what the majority of the leaders do believe in. They disbelieve in revolution; they profess fundamental opposition to the present system, and therefore they cannot frankly support measures designed to improve and not to destroy the system; yet they have no coherent proposals for establishing any other system. An editorial article entitled "'Communism' and the Labour Party" in the *New Statesman* for August 7th, 1920, dealt very faithfully with this state of things. The writer sought to show that the Communists, *i.e.*, those Socialists inclining to the Third or Moscow International, have no constructive programme. He then says :—

"But, it may be said, even if they are bankrupt themselves, may they not thrive on the equal bankruptcy of the official Labour Movement? It is, indeed, true that, despite its paper programmes, the Labour Movement here is at present effective neither as a political party nor as an economic force. It makes slowly its political gains; but it owes far more in this sphere to the unpopularity and class-bias of the Coalition than to any positive appeal of its own. Moreover, it is a plain fact that, in the industrial sphere, the Trade Unions are swinging helplessly about, lacking in leadership, and in most cases asking for more wages largely because there is nothing else that they are quite sure that they want—nothing, at all events, which they can formulate as a practicable demand.

The revolutionary Communist, of course, often maintains that this impasse is inevitable, that we have reached a stage at which practicable demands that are realisable under capitalism can no longer be formulated, and that the only possible policy is revolution—itself possible only after long preparation on which all efforts must be concentrated. . . . It is because the official leaders of Labour, with either too narrowly Parliamentary an outlook or with no outlook at all, have not begun to face the problem of formulating this evolutionary policy—in which all sections of the Labour Movement, and many who are now outside it or even hostile to it, could co-operate—that the 'stalemate' theory of the present situation has become plausible, and that a section of the British Movement is drifting aimlessly 'leftwards' in the direction of a Bolshevism in which it does not believe."

Mr. Sidney Webb himself may be the writer of the above criticism. Most of the definite political projects with which Labour has at different times been associated have come from his fertile mind. If the Labour Party would always accept the direction of Mr. Webb it would never be at a loss for definite proposals. But Labour has grown shy of Mr. Webb's schemes involving, as they do, a degree of regimentation and bureaucracy which renders them unpopular both with the average elector and with the Labour Left Wing that regards Mr. Webb's State Socialism as State Capitalism, and Mr. Webb himself as the architect of the Servile State. Yet when it does not accept either Webbian or 'Communist' proposals the Labour Party is, as the *New Statesman* says, bankrupt.

The Labour Party is formally, though not really, a Socialist Party, having inserted a Socialist clause in its constitution. It rejects revolutionary methods of attaining Socialism; it will not accept the evolutionary methods prescribed by Mr. Webb, and it is incapable of devising any alternative methods. Hence a deadlock which explains its political impotence. What the Labour Party might do is to work frankly for improving conditions under the present industrial system. This is what it does do to some extent, but not frankly and deliberately, and therefore not effectively. Most of the older leaders would be well content with this purely meliorist policy, for it is one that they can believe in and understand. It must be remembered that these leaders were mature politicians before they were independent Labour members. They were Liberal-Labour, or "Lib-Labs" at middle-age, and though they have now assumed a new label and some new phrases, they have no new ideas. But what they have to consider is that the younger men beneath them, and on whom they depend for support, are no longer Lib-Lab but Socialist-Labour. The Labour Movement as a whole has moved strongly to the Left during the past 15 years. A Socialist

mentality has spread, and is now general among the younger men. As fast as the younger men grow older they become less Socialist, but in their propagandist activity they have done their work, they have trained up a new younger generation as Socialists, and so the bulk of the men taking an active part in the Labour Movement are imbued with Socialist ideas. By this I mean they are strongly class-conscious, they regard the propertied classes as their enemies, their sympathies are more with rebellion than with authority and they regard the smashing of the present system as their chief aim. This mentality would be very dangerous to society, or at least to the existing system, if it were not for the fact that as men grow older and attain higher office in the Movement they grow out of their Socialism. Moreover, those who take an active part in the Labour Movement are only a small minority of the working class. The majority are solidly conservative because they are apathetic. For the blessings of social stability we owe much to the apathy of the mass.

However, in the Labour Movement the young active workers, always prone to favour "advanced" programmes, are a thorn in the flesh of the older leaders who occupy the higher positions. The younger men below are always pressing the older men above to move faster. The young men who attend the Branch meetings make extreme demands and send them on for adoption by Headquarters. Headquarters favours asking for something much more moderate because Headquarters thinks of the practicable. But if Headquarters is too persistently moderate it becomes very unpopular with the militants, and usually the militants can make their will prevail. The higher officials, the "moderates," are extremely unwilling to face and fight the extremists, and the approved policy is to sidetrack unwelcome demands as long as side-tracking is possible. The "moderates" themselves, in order to win popularity, have frequently

flirted with extremism. They have waved the Red Flag for platform purposes. When they are faced with an impossible demand from the extremists they do not try to educate the Labour movement in what they believe to be the rights and wrongs of the case, but they trust to jobbery and wirepulling in order to turn the nasty question aside. Moderation in the Labour Movement is based only on expediency, not on any principles to which the active Labourists acknowledge assent. So far as there are principles held in the Labour Movement they are Socialist principles, which imply an extremist policy and the breaking-up of the present system. The moderate leaders will not accept the extremist policy, yet they will not repudiate the extremist principles. The result is habitual insincerity, sterility and impotence in the Labour Movement.

What I have been trying to explain was put forward in an article in *The Christian Democrat*[1] entitled " What's Wrong with the Labour World ? " by Mr. W. F. Smith, who is himself a working engine driver and an active member of his union :—

> In all our Trade Union branches and in the Labour Movement, we have an active, articulate minority of men holding opinions based on a materialistic philosophy. They hold that all wealth is produced by Labour, and that Labour is entitled to the whole product. Their doctrines have become widely accepted, and have now come to issue in a class war openly advocated. . . . But when they try to operate with these principles, Labour finds that they do not work somehow, and the price they pay in the experiment is great. It is this body of fallacious principles which is the active element in the Parliamentary Party. The Moderates in the Party seem to have no policy and no alternative principles.

The political impotence of British Labour is a fact to be demonstrated from the history of the last two and a half years. The industrial power of the British Labour movement is not being discussed in this article. We are

[1] January, 1921.

now only concerned with Labour seeking its ends by political means, as by Parliament, or when it seeks political ends by any means whatever, including industrial methods. The secret of this impotence is the lack of sound principles and the profession of wrong principles. The principles actually professed imply policies that the experienced and responsible leaders know to be impossible. Yet these leaders dare not challenge the wrong principles because they have no alternative principles to put against them. Consequently the leaders prefer the constant practice of shelving, of evasion, of sidetracking awkward demands. To explain the undeniable weakness of British Labour I have striven to show that the root of the trouble is erroneous principle. There are many secondary causes that might be dealt with. One could point to concrete blunders that have brought discredit on the Labour Party, such as the transactions of the *Daily Herald* with the Bolshevist Government of Russia. Much could be said in criticism of the methods of selecting Labour candidates for Parliament. The average Labour M.P. is an elderly trade union official. His trade union had the right of imposing him as Labour candidate on a constituency because it is the trade unions that pay most of Labour's election expenses. The elderly official is chosen for the candidature not because of his political fitness but as a reward for long service to the union. When he gets to Westminster he is completely out of his element. For one thing, he has not time to attend to Parliamentary business properly, as Trade Union duties have first call upon him. Moreover he is too old to learn the Parliamentary game. Only a handful of the Labour members have taken the trouble to obtain some mastery of the procedure of the House. It is because they know that they count for so little in the House that the majority of them are so seldom present there.

There is often much bitter comment on the petty personal jealousies that hamper the progress of the Labour

Party. The trade union M.P.'s are represented as being jealous of the "intellectuals" like Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald and Mr. Philip Snowden, and therefore these two very able leaders have never been given an opportunity of winning a by-election, though it cannot be doubted that their return to Parliament would immensely strengthen the Labour Party in the House of Commons. But personally, I do not attach so much importance to the factor of jealousy. I doubt whether Labour suffers more than other movements from this particular poison. The Labour M.P.'s, taken on the whole, are a set of respectable, sensible men without much idealism or intellect. They are very British, very patriotic, and many of them have been Sunday School teachers and local preachers. Though they are sometimes denounced as Bolshevists they are really the best barrier against Bolshevism that a country could desire. If there were a revolution in England, the Labour M.P.'s would stand an excellent chance of being hung from the lampposts. Moderate as are the talents of the official leaders of Labour, it is not their intellectual mediocrity which causes their political impotence; it is the lack of a philosophy which will guide their own policy and which can win the assent of the active members of the rank and file in the movement on whose support and co-operation they must depend. Mr. William Graham, M.A., LL.B., Labour M.P. for Central Edinburgh, writes in the *Daily Mail Year Book* for 1921 on "Labour's Lawful Aspirations." Mr. Graham regards the Communist element in the Labour ranks as the chief obstacle to the party's progress, and after denouncing the Communists with vehemence, he says :—

> Until, therefore, a revolutionary element, so obviously wrong, is thrust out of the Labour Movement, and allowed to stand upon its own shaky legs, Labour will continue to speak with many voices instead of one, and a bewildered electorate will probably decide to support others who, whatever their faults, at least subscribe to one faith and support one programme.

This is all very well, but as the *New Statesman* has pointed out, the expulsion of the extremists from the party would still leave the moderates without a policy. And it is vain for them to think that a policy can be pieced together out of the suggestions supplied by their expert advisers, such as Mr. Sidney Webb and Mr. G. D. H. Cole, on a basis of mere expediency. Labour needs a philosophy as well as a policy, and this philosophy must be in harmony with its actual policy, and it must be common to the official leaders and to the active rank and file. At present philosophy and policy are divorced in the Labour Movement, and the principles that inspire the active rank and file are not those which govern the official leaders. Hence the insincerity and incoherence in the British Labour Movement resulting in stultification and impotence.

H. SOMERVILLE.

Postscript.—The above article was written early in January ; this postscript is added on February 16. In the interval the Labour Party has published its proposals for dealing with unemployment ; but little public attention has been given to them. The *Report of the Labour Commission to Ireland* has already passed into oblivion, and it may be remarked that the price charged for copies (2s.) was not conducive to a large circulation. (*Who Burnt Cork City ?*—issued by the Irish Labour Party—costs only 6d., though it is more than half the size). The Labour Party's campaign against reprisals in Ireland was concluded last night at the Albert Hall, London. The results achieved need no comment. Whilst the speakers at the final demonstration were describing the scenes of horror enacted in Ireland, Mr. Thomas was appealing to the Prime Minister to institute "a free, impartial and independent inquiry" into the murder of three railwaymen at Mallow. The answer of Mr. Lloyd George, in face of Mr. Bromley's threat of a strike, was a good illustration of the political impotence of British Labour. The answer was :—

> If there is to be an investigation, it must be in accordance with the rules by which such investigations are conducted. We are not going to submit to threats of strikes (loud cheers). . . . If Mr. Thomas will bring forward evidence to substantiate the statements he has made, I will give him a guarantee that it will be thoroughly investigated by a perfectly honourable and impartial tribunal such as is set up by the military within the area under their control.

THE POLITICS OF "MACBETH."

BY PROFESSOR ARTHUR E. CLERY.

THE recent revival of *Macbeth* by the American actor Hackett and Mrs. Patrick Campbell gives a new interest to the study of that play. It is very unlike any of Shakespere's other plays; editors have sometimes hesitated whether to put it in the class of historical plays or of tragedies. The Scottish setting, at once foreign and yet not wholly foreign, is a thing peculiar to *Macbeth*. How Shakespere came to write a Scots play is well known. The accession of James I. was a piece of great good fortune for him. His patron, Southampton, under a cloud in Elizabeth's closing years, was in high favour with the new King. Shakespere in a humble way shared in this prosperity, his company being made the King's servants, most probably through Southampton's influence.[1] In *Macbeth* he makes his return for these favours. The glorification of James as the seed of Banquo is quite open. The witches summon up visions of Kings with double balls and treble sceptres. James is celebrated as an "all-British" monarch. Even his foible of curing the King's evil, a theological question at the time, is not forgotten; it is in fact dragged in irrelevantly in the person of Edward, King of England—James's characteristics being, as it were, distributed.

It is to Shakespere's credit, however, that, while admitting the sycophancy (inevitable in one of his position at the time), he did not allow it to spoil his play. It did not affect it in any vital part. And *Macbeth* is rightly looked upon as one of the greatest of his tragedies, Shakespere's capacity for a great scene appearing at its highest. The scene of the murder itself and the scene

[1] Two years before, James as King of Scotland had conferred a like honour on certain players of whom Shakespere may have been one.

where Lady Macbeth comes in washing her hands in madness—Mrs. Patrick Campbell was at her best in this—are things unequalled. They entitle Shakespere to challenge Euripides' title as the "most tragic" of the poets, if "tragic" be used with an element of the sensational in it.

It is the purpose of this article to suggest that there is a deeper political meaning in *Macbeth* than is involved in the obvious flattery of the reigning sovereign. In the expression of his politics as of other sides of his character Shakespere is slow to reveal himself. In politics especially he had to be somewhat obscure, if he were to do more than pander to the popular feeling of the moment.[1] But Shakespere had politics, very definite and strong politics, though he does not allow them more than an obscure expression. In the first place there is much reason to believe that like so many in his time he had a respect for, perhaps even an attachment to, the Catholic religion, not perhaps so definite as that of Alexander Pope at a later date. The complete respect with which he treats its clergy and ceremonies has often been remarked. Macaulay somewhere compares it brutally to the respect which converted pagans have for their former idols. The Court feeling was of course against him in the matter and he dare not push his views too openly. But it is remarkable that Falstaff, the butt of his humour, was in the first instance named after a celebrated Lollard of the past, Sir John Oldcastle. Shakespere had to change the name. If such were Shakespere's sentiments he can have had little real sympathy with Elizabeth's government at any time, though modern criticism persists in calling him an Elizabethan, and indeed speaks of Shakespere and Elizabeth almost as one. It is not suggested, however, that Elizabeth or her ministers troubled much about the politics of an obscure actor, while Shakespere for his part found it necessary to conform to what was expected

[1] In 1589 Shakespere with his fellow actors had had to sign a document to the effect that they never brought "matters of State and religion" into their plays and submit it to the species of inquisition established in that year.

of him, just as a writer of popular plays in our time would so conform.

So much is conjecture. But for Shakespere's politics at the end of Elizabeth's reign the evidence is much more definite. His connection with politics is almost as plain as Richard Wagner's. No doubt Shakespere was more fortunate, and was not, like Wagner, compelled to fly the country. To his contemporaries indeed he was not a sufficiently important person to suffer persecution. But that Shakespere was mixed up in a rebellion and that one of his plays formed part of the ammunition of the conspirators is a matter admitting of no doubt. The history of his youth gave him no love for legality. Shakespere was an "Essex" man, the connection being through his patron, Southampton. Interested motives apart, he probably sympathised with Essex's broad and, in a measure, tolerant policy. There is much reason to believe that Henry V was in a sense, in the obscure sense in which Shakespere delighted to express his politics, a dramatic projection of Essex's expedition to Ireland; the Irish, Scotch and Welsh officers are evidently brought on the stage with a political or imperial object.[1] With the failure of the adventure, and Essex's fall from power, the conspiracy took its rise. Essex's partisans again sought to avail of Shakespere's aid. His play, *Richard II*, was utilised for the purpose. It was hoped that it would move Londoners much as *Figaro* did Parisians at a later date. Elizabeth saw this and put it into words: "Know ye not that I am Richard II," she declared. Shakespere was compelled to cut out certain of the most offending lines. There can be little doubt that Shakespere was privy to this utilisation of his play to further the object of the conspiracy in which his patron, Southampton, was so deeply involved. But even Shakespere was unable to rouse London to revolt. The conspiracy failed miserably. Essex's execution followed.

[1] Here as in many places in this article the writer is indebted to Sir Plunkett Barton's valuable and suggestive work: *Links between Ireland and Shakespere.*

Once again Shakespere has recourse to an expression of his political views, this time deeply obscure. *Julius Cæsar*, with Cæsar almost for the villain and the conspirator Brutus as its hero, followed. Many critics see Essex in the noble Brutus—the high-minded, but unfortunate patriot. Of course the suggestion is very obscure, but how could it be otherwise? The suggestion in *Richard II* had also been obscure, yet it was plain enough for Elizabeth to recognise it. Had she not done so, any such reference would probably be denied and ridiculed.

Elizabeth was dead, James on the throne, Southampton recalled to his honours, Shakespere shining in his good fortune. *Macbeth* follows. The reference to James in the family of Banquo is obvious. What reference is there in the character of Macbeth and Lady Macbeth as drawn by Shakespere? Unscrupulous ambition, yet an ambition anxious at least in the early stage to win golden opinions; ambition deeply dissatisfied in the attainment of what it has sought; a deadly jealousy of possible rivals, leading to bloody deeds; everybody suspect in the end; the whole people outraged; cruelty that knows no limit save that of its own suspicions; all this largely the result of barrenness, a throne insecure for want of a direct heir. Banquo is done to death. His son escapes to found the future royal house of Britain. And for the end of it we see an old woman moodily mad, spied upon by her courtiers, as she gives way to a delirium of remorse.

This is very far from the character of Elizabeth when she appears as the heroine of accepted English history. But the Cæsar of Shakespere's *Julius Cæsar* is equally far from the Julius Cæsar of accepted modern history, the hero of Dr. Mommsen's liberal Imperialism, for instance. To-day we read the story of Elizabeth as written by her admirers. How did Elizabeth appear to her enemies, to a body of conspirators, for instance,

whose leader she had put to death? Their hatred for the barren, treacherous woman compassing deeds of cruelty and seeking to avoid the reproach for them by double-dealing, must have been intense. And Shakespere, if we may believe him a party to the *Richard II* episode, must have felt that mixture of fear and hatred which comes of a stroke attempted in vain, which is often strongest in the conspirator who escapes. We may be sure he saw no qualities in Elizabeth but treacherous cruelty, cunning and jealousy, which found their retribution in the remorseful doting of her last days. Once the Queen was dead, he no longer covered his feelings. He refused to write a word of elegy upon her though public notice was taken of his refusal. Shakespere was a revengeful man, as the Lucys knew to their cost. He was a bad enemy as he was a good friend.

In *Macbeth*, especially in the later scenes, *more suo* he takes his obscure revenge. As Banquo stands for James and his house, Macbeth and his consort are an obscure projection of the character of Elizabeth as viewed by a deadly enemy. It is a history of barrenness, jealousy and treacherous bloodshed. But the motives are divided between the spouses, for in this as in other instances Shakespere did not allow his politics to spoil his play. It is rather a general impression than a direct attribution of characteristics. Lady Macbeth is not Elizabeth, any more than Brutus is Essex; but the career of the Macbeths, as it were, typifies Elizabeth, as Shakespere viewed her, much as Brutus typifies Essex. How many people saw through this may be questioned. Did James, for instance? It is possible. Southampton and those of his party almost certainly did. But the allegory of a play may be as plain as a pike-staff and yet almost escape notice. The political allegory of Wagner's *Ring*, taken in connection with Wagner's known political career, is plain beyond any question. No one could doubt it for two minutes. The invisible scourging of the worker

by capital, for instance, is a most evident piece of socialist propaganda. Yet unnumbered people must have seen the *Ring* without noticing this, till Shaw wrote his book. It is not surprising then if political meanings obscurely expressed and intended for an intimate circle, the survivors of a conspiracy, have escaped general notice in modern days. But many must have read the riddle in Shakespere's own time.

One matter, perhaps a little fanciful, remains. The actual murder as depicted in *Macbeth* was, as is well known, not really the work of the historical Macbeth who probably slew Duncan in battle, but is taken from another story in Holinshed which relates how one Donwald and his wife murdered a certain King Duff in their castle. Shakespere as usual follows Holinshed's narrative closely. Had Shakespere then any reason for selecting Macbeth for his subject—the subject, it is suggested, of his obscure revenge? Could he, it is suggested with great hesitation, full of obscure hate, have seen in the second half of the name Macbeth a resemblance such as Shaw suggests to everybody nowadays when he writes a play about a prime minister called "Mr. Balsquith." It may be mere coincidence, mere fancy. But, to a man expressing the obscure revenge of a limited circle, the thing is at least faintly possible. Shakespere's use of the name Macbeth and still more Lady Macbeth is of course wholly erroneous. Macbeth is in Gaelic a christian name meaning "Son of life," the latter half of the name being cognate with the Latin word "*vitae*." With this etymology, however, Shakespere was most certainly not acquainted. If he knew "less Greek," he knew no Gaelic at all, except indeed *Calen o custure me*, a Scotch Gaelic song.

The politics of Shakespere are a subject that would repay study. If they have not been fully explored it is perhaps because, judged by present day standards, they were very unpopular politics.

ARTHUR E. CLERY.

BLOOD PRODIGIES.

BY HERBERT THURSTON, S.J.

I.

AT every stage of human development the sight of blood, and notably of blood gushing from an open wound, seems to have impressed the imagination of men of average sensibility. Among primitive and barbarous peoples in all parts of the world the use of a blood ritual in the ratification of solemn compacts is of common occurrence. Often enough this takes the form of an actual drinking of blood, or of its transfusion from one individual to another. In other cases there is merely an outpouring of the crimson tide, symbolical no doubt in its origin, but often difficult of interpretation. Generally speaking, the root idea seems to be that the blood is to be identified with the principle of life. Homer in two passages of the Iliad (xiv., 518, and xvii., 86), while using in other respects the same phraseology, speaks in the one case of the soul (ψυχή), in the other of the blood (αἷμα), passing away through the inflicted wound (κατ' οὐταμένην ὠτειλήν). More generally familiar is the language of the Old Testament, where a reason is assigned for the prohibition of the eating of blood. "For the life of all flesh," we read in *Leviticus* (xvii. 14), "is in the blood: therefore I said to the children of Israel: you shall not eat the blood of any flesh at all, because the life of the flesh is in the blood and whoever eateth it shall be cut off." And again in *Deut.* (xii. 23):

"Only beware of this that thou eat not the blood, for the blood is for the soul, and therefore thou must not eat the soul with the flesh." We may, no doubt, believe that in the designs of Providence these old world ideas about blood had their place in preparing men's minds for the fuller appreciation of the sacrifice of Calvary and the mystery of the Blessed Eucharist. But in any case the fact remains that a certain religious awe is associated with the sight of flowing blood, and that here, as often in other matters, the depth of the impression is witnessed to by the profusion of more or less superstitious excrescences which have grown up around the central idea.

No one who recalls what he read in the Livy of his school-days can for a moment hesitate to admit that blood prodigies are not exclusively of Christian origin. During Hannibal's invasion of Italy, more than two hundred years before the coming of our Lord, such portents, as recorded by the historian, occurred at frequent intervals. At Capena four standards sweated blood profusely for a night and a day together; elsewhere there were shields also which sweated blood; in the temple of Juno Sospita at Lanuvium the standards ran with gore; at Rome it rained blood in the cattle market; drops of blood were discovered all over the Forum and the Capitol; the waters of the fountain of Hercules were spotted with blood; there were places where rivers of blood flowed the whole day long; at Minternum a stream of blood ran under the city gate; blood exuded from the hearth; it was also found in loaves of bread; at Antium the ears of wheat were all bloody as the reapers cut them, and so on. It is plain that as statements of historical fact these notices are open to grave suspicion. Livy himself, who was not over critical, remarks that when once men's minds are affected with religious fears such portents are wont to be reported in abundance and thoughtlessly believed. No doubt a certain proportion of these reputed marvels are susceptible of a rationalistic

interpretation. The *bacillus prodigiosus* and its congeners may very well be made responsible for the bleeding bread and even for the blood upon the wheat ears. The blood spots in water can probably be explained to some extent by the presence of such brilliantly coloured liverworts and algae as those which convinced many generations of our forefathers that the drops of St. Winefride's blood might still be discerned at the bottom of her spring at Holywell. Red rain undoubtedly does occur at times, owing apparently to the absorption of fine dust suspended under exceptional conditions in the upper strata of the atmosphere. But after making all allowances there remains a considerable residue of portents which, as the supernatural can hardly be invoked in a purely pagan world, must be attributed either to mistaken testimony or to deliberate imposture. Probably the true explanation would have to take account in almost equal measure of both the one factor and the other.

However it is not my purpose in the present paper to discuss the forgotten records of primitive folk-lore, but rather to attempt an investigation of a somewhat delicate problem of religious psychology which is by no means without its application to things that are going on around us. Perhaps the line of demarcation between the domain of folk-lore and that of mysticism is not always so clearly marked as we might think desirable. Still there is at least this notable difference between them, that in the one case we have to allow for the possibility of the intervention of the supernatural, in the other we have not. In view of the long series of blood prodigies recorded in Christian history one naturally begins to ask oneself how far these can claim to be regarded as genuine miracles, or how far on the other hand they are to be attributed to the same morbid instincts and unheeding credulity which are responsible for the marvels which diversify the pages of Livy. But perhaps, before we attempt to answer this question, it will be well to

give some kind of idea of the various classes of manifestations known to Christian hagiography which fairly fall under the general heading prefixed to this paper.

Probably the best known type of all is that of the Eucharistic miracle in which the Host drops blood or is transformed into a morsel of raw human flesh. There is a long succession of such stories which go back to the days of St. Gregory the Great or even earlier. The miracle of Bolsena, celebrated in one of Raphael's finest frescoes at the Vatican, is particularly famous, but though the incident is supposed to have decided Urban IV to institute the feast of Corpus Christi, and though the blood-stained corporal itself is still shown at Orvieto, modern critics of unquestioned orthodoxy reject the marvel as unhistorical.[1] As space has to be economised here, I do not propose to discuss any of these *Hostienwunder* in the present article. Moreover it hardly needs saying that the close connection of such manifestations with faith in the mystery of the Blessed Eucharist supplies a more intelligible motive for the possible intervention of the supernatural than can be pleaded in the case of statues or other material objects to which no special consecration attaches.

Another large class of alleged marvels, with which again I do not propose at present to deal, is that connected with the bodies or relics of saints. When St. Ambrose at Milan was so strangely guided to the discovery of the remains of the martyrs, Saints Gervase and Protase, he found (we are told) a quantity of liquid blood which was as fresh as if it had just been shed. There are many similar stories, and it is asserted, for example, that from the severed arm of St. Nicholas of Tolentino there have been more than twenty effusions of liquid blood, the majority of which took place more

[1] A convenient summary of the evidence may be found in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, *s.v.* "Orvieto."

than 300 years after his death.[1] Of the liquefaction of the blood of St. Januarius all the world has heard, although it is not quite so generally known that the same manifestation takes place in the case of some half dozen similar relics of other Saints all preserved at Naples. Further a like phenomenon of ebullition was vouched for, in the case of the "grasso di San Lorenzo."[2] There is much that is puzzling here, and without either credulously accepting or arbitrarily rejecting these alleged manifestations one feels that they may conceivably have something to do with the undoubted phenomenon of incorruption observable in the bodies of so many of the saints under circumstances which seem to exclude all possibility of a natural explanation.

The third group of prodigies may conveniently be made to include all the blood marvels which remain—all, that is to say, which have nothing to do with the Blessed Sacrament or the bodies of Saints. The most familiar type is that of a statue or crucifix which, when struck or otherwise suffering outrage, miraculously sheds blood as if appealing to heaven for vengeance on the perpetrators. At the second Œcumenical Council of Nicea, convoked against the Iconoclasts in 787, a long passage was read, attributed quite unwarrantably to the great St. Athanasius,[3] which described how a statue of our Saviour at Beyrout after being maltreated by the Jews, was finally struck with a lance, whereupon blood and water flowed copiously from the wounded side, with the result that the unbelievers, smitten with consternation, were converted to the true faith.[4] A paragraph com-

[1] See Ceppi, *Il Sangue Miracoloso di S. Nicolo da Tolentino*, Rome, 1725.

[2] The highly respected antiquary, L. Sabbatini d'Anfora, who afterwards became Bishop of Aquila, in his great work *Il vetusto Calendario Napolitano* ((1747), vol. viii., p. 59, states that he had been a witness of the miracle on the feast of St. Lawrence almost every year.

[3] Giraldus Cambrensis (*Opera, II.*, 102), telling the same story, curiously enough attributes it to St. Basil.

[4] Mansi, *Concilia*, xiii., 28; *cf.* Hefele-Leclercq, *Conciles*, iii., 766 and Hefele, *Beiträge zur Kirchengeschichte*, ii., 258.

memorating this alleged miracle appears in the Roman Martyrology under Nov. 9th, where it is stated that such a quantity of blood was gathered up "that the Churches both of East and West received abundantly thereof." Of this class of story endless variations are to be met with in the hagiographical literature of the Middle Ages, and some of these go back at least to the days of St. Gregory of Tours.[1] Caesarius of Heisterbach (*Dialogus*, x., 19-20) reports two such tales belonging to his own times. But it seems useless to give further references; the evidence for all these alleged miracles being of a very unsatisfactory character.

Hardly less abundant are the stories of blood flowing from bread, exuding from stones, contaminating streams, falling from heaven in rain, and so on. Sometimes this is represented as happening as a portent foreboding evils to come, sometimes as a mark of God's anger rebuking the crime of an individual offender. Thus in the time of St. Hugh of Lincoln "blood" ran from a batch of loaves which, it was alleged, had been baked on a Sunday.[2] At a somewhat earlier date, a man who started to fell a tree on Sunday found that every blow of his axe was followed by a gush of blood. Most of the entries of this kind inserted so freely in the monastic chronicles deserve just as much, or as little, credence as the portents found in the pages of Livy. They are, however, by no means confined to the Middle Ages. Numbers of similar incidents, ascribed to the 16th and 17th centuries, may be met with in such a collection as Bagatta's *Mirabilia Mundi*. It is useless, however, to discuss them here.

More to our purpose are certain stories of statues and other objects of devotion which have sweated blood.

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[1] See *e.g. De Gloria Martyrum*, c 22; Migne *P.L.*, 71, 724.

[2] The evidence in this case is good. See *Magna Vita*, p. 327. Giraldus Cambrensis (II. 162) avers that he saw with his own eyes a similar loaf of bleeding bread which in this case was baked on the feast of St. Lawrence. No doubt the phenomenon is to be explained by the presence of the *bacillus prodigiosus*.

Though not quite so numerous, they occur occasionally in all parts of the world. To take, for example, two Irish instances, we read in the *Annals of Loch Cé* that in 1033 "the shrine of Peter and Paul dropped blood on the altar of Patrick in Armagh while all men looked on."[1] Similarly in the Tripartite Life edited by Whitley Stokes, we find this statement concerning St. Patrick's stone (*lecc Patraic*): "Cinaed, son of Isgalach, King of Tara, outraged it, that is to say, he slew a man who was under its safeguard, and three drops of blood trickled out of it at once, and ceased not flowing till Cinaed, son of Congalach, offered to Patrick three senclethi with their land."[2]

I do not know what Celtic thought forms may lie behind these "three drops of blood;" but it is curious that the same phrase is used in connection with a miracle alleged to have taken place at a remote date in the Cathedral of Quimper in Brittany. The still existing "chapel of the three drops of blood" commemorates an incident which must have occurred at some time before the year 1273, for an inventory of that date mentions the "vessel of crystal which contains the blood which flowed from the crucifix." The story is that a pilgrim went to the Holy Land leaving his money in the care of a friend, to be restored to him on his return. When he came home, the friend denied that he had ever received any deposit from him and swore an oath to that effect before the crucifix in the Cathedral. Thereupon the feet of the crucifix detached themselves from the one nail by which they were fastened and from them there fell three drops of blood. The wooden crucifix, life size, still exists, so also does the corporal with which the blood was absorbed. A special feast with a proper office is or was until recently kept in the Cathedral of Quimper, and in the lessons for this feast we read how "imago ipsa crucifixi, de ligno confecta, disjunctis, qui antea

[1] *Annals of Loch Cé*, I., 35 (Rolls Series).
[2] Stokes, *Tripartite Life* (Rolls Series), I., 73.

clavo uni fixi erant, pedibus, tres sanguinis guttas mirabiliter effudit."[1]

Of a somewhat similar character is a story told of St. Francis Borgia. The Saint, it is stated, having shown great charity in relieving the bodily needs of a hardened sinner who was very near death, made every effort to touch his heart and bring him to repentance. Finding the sick man still obdurate, Francis hung up his crucifix at the foot of the bed and knelt down to pray. All at once, drops of blood began to trickle from each of the five sacred wounds, though even this miracle did not effect the conversion hoped for.[2] As regards the more common form of these tales of bleeding figures, it will be sufficient to give two brief references by way of illustration. Under the year 1399 the *Annales Henrici Quarti* state: "In this year at Rome there were images of the crucifix and the Blessed Virgin Mary from which exuded a moisture like freshly shed blood (sudaverunt humorem sanguineum similem cruori recenti)"; and the chronicler goes on to state that the citizens were so alarmed by this portent that there was a revival of the extravagant practices of the Flagellants and that vast companies went about the city scourging themselves and singing the *Stabat Mater*.[3] Again we are told that on July 8th, 1685, at Klattau in Bohemia, blood began to flow from the forehead of a statue of our Blessed Lady. The bleeding continued for some time in the presence of a large number of witnesses. Thereupon the Archbishop of Prague sent commissioners to investigate and report upon the alleged miracle. As a result it was declared authentic, and in a short time more than 4,000 pilgrims had visited the spot.[4]

This much, however, being premised for the sake of

[1] See Barbier de Montault, *Œuvres Complètes*, vol. xiv., pp. 433-438.

[2] A. M. Clarke, *Life of St. Francis Borgia*, p. 104. I can, however, find no trace of this story in Père Suau's more critical biography.

[3] See the *Chronica S. Albani*, J. de Trokelowe, etc. (Rolls Series), p. 322.

[4] I give this on the authority of Mgr. Barbier de Montault, *Œuvres*, xiv., 448. I have been unable to verify the statements there made.

a certain historical completeness, we may now turn to a type of blood prodigy which is of more special interest to modern readers. It is that which to all seeming has its starting point in the devotion of some individual mystic. The manifestation, like a supernatural ecstasy or like the grace of the stigmata, is a privilege bestowed personally upon him rather than an exhibition of God's power to the world at large. Such alleged marvels are therefore, as one sees at once, peculiarly liable to be affected by any morbid psychological conditions on the part of the recipient of the favour. There is not in these cases so much difficulty about the evidence for the fact of certain external appearances. The blood is there beyond dispute; the question which we have to settle is how did it come there.

Now there is what seems to me a very instructive example of the difficult problem created by the narrow line which may separate hysteria from mysticism, in the case of a Benedictine novice of the twelfth century whose experience is made known to us through a particularly truthful and reliable eye-witness. I refer to the narrative known as "the Vision of the Monk of Eynsham," which was given to the world at the instance of St. Hugh of Avalon, the famous Carthusian Bishop of Lincoln, who had had intimate personal relations with the novice in question. I must ask the reader to take my word for it that the account is trustworthy in an unusual degree, for the demonstration of this would occupy too much space.[1] The story, however, is in print not only in Latin[2] but also in a slightly curtailed mediaeval English version included among the Arber reprints. The facts which principally concern us are these.

On Good Friday morning, in the year 1196, when the community of the monastery of Eynsham in Oxfordshire

[1] I have dealt with the point at some length in *The Month*, Jan., 1898, and also in the edition of the Latin text I edited for the *Analecta Bollandiana*, vol. xxii., 1903.

[2] Besides the *Analecta Bollandiana*, the text has since been edited by Dom Huber and also by Mr. Salter for the Oxford Historical Society.

assembled for Prime a strange sight met their view. A young monk was lying prostrate on the ground before the Abbot's stall, his feet bare and his form motionless. They tried to rouse him, but he gave no sign of life. His face was smeared all over with blood, his eyes sunken and glazed, his feet stone cold. Only after a very close scrutiny "there was perceived in him a little thin breath and a moving of his heart." Not knowing what to do they carried him to his cell and there left him on his bed while some of the monks kept watch beside him.

The patient, whose condition seemed so grave, had not long been a member of the community, and during nearly the whole time of his residence, fifteen months, he had been a sufferer from mysterious diseases which baffled all medical skill. He had a bad ulcer on his leg, his stomach seemed to have a loathing for food, and often for as much as nine days together nothing had passed his lips but a little warm water. On the Maundy-Thursday, however, he had felt rather better and had been present at all the religious exercises. But for the rest no one knew any more than that he had been seen on the way to Matins the night before, and six hours later was found lying prostrate on the pavement as already described.

During all that Good Friday and until the evening of Holy Saturday, the brethren remained in consternation. What greatly increased the general panic was the fact that the sacristan, on going to fetch the crucifix which was used for the creeping to the Cross on Good Friday and which had been kept since the beginning of Lent behind the altar of St. Lawrence, found it with its side and right foot covered with fresh blood, and here beside it lay the staff and shoes of the Brother now seized with such a strange infirmity.

On the Holy Saturday evening the young monk at last came to himself. For a time he remained very dazed, and "there came down" (I quote here and elsewhere from the Old English translation) "from his eyes on to

his cheeks a yellow humour of water in manner of tears."[1] Again we are told: "They saw also his lips a little to move, with his cheeks compressed, as if he had received or swallowed some sweet thing fallen into his mouth." Eventually, as he recovered, he was persuaded, though rather reluctantly, to give an account of his ecstasy and what had preceded it. He told them that in his sleep he had heard a voice which said to him :—

> Arise up and go into the chapel and to the altar of St. Lawrence. . . . And there behind that altar you shall find a cross and an image of the Redeemer affixed thereto. . . And that same cross meekly and devoutly go to, and kiss it in remembrance of thy Saviour." . . . Then after this I waked, and with the brethren I came to the church to hear Matins. . . . There left I my brethren and went forth to the altar that was noted to me in my sleep. And when I was nigh the altar I put off my shoes and knelt on my knees upon the pavement and ofttimes inclined my head to the ground. And so I went behind the altar to the cross that I heard of before. Truly I knew not in any wise by any man's telling that any cross was let down there. Nevertheless I found it as it was told me before. And anon I was resolved all into tears of devotion, and lying prostrate all my body, full devoutly I worshipped that holy cross saying many devout prayers. . . . Kissing ofttimes the feet of the crucifix, and busily with the tears of mine eyes I watered them.
>
> The meanwhile, as I lifted up my eyes that were sore of weeping to the face of the crucifix, I felt some drops falling down on me. I put thereto my fingers and I well perceived and knew by the redness that it was blood. Also I beheld the right side of the image of our Lord's body and it welled out blood as a man's flesh is wont to bleed when it is cupped. Truly the place that I saw this in was dark, for it was behind the altar about midnight. But I saw those two lights shining at both the sides of the cross, as it had been two tapers well burning. . . . Then I took in my open hand I wot not how many drops of that precious blood and therewith diligently I anointed my eyes, my ears, and my nostrils. And at the last I put one drop of that blessed blood into my lips and of the great desire and devotion of mine heart I swallowed it down. And whether I offended God or no in that point I wot not. The remainder thereof I held in my hand purposing to have kept it.

[1] Many stigmatics are liable to have sweats of blood, and a mixture of blood and tears often flows from the eyes.

Also I beheld and saw the right foot of the same crucifix bleed. Soothly yesterday when I was restored to myself again and saw nothing of that precious blood in my hands, sore and greatly I sorrowed, and ever shall, for the loss of so great and precious treasure.

I must apologise for the length of this quotation, but the narrative appears to me curiously typical of the state of mind of many similar visionaries. The blending of things which did happen with other circumstances which were quite imaginary is peculiarly characteristic. For brevity's sake I have omitted in the above extract the novice's explanation of how he came to steal away while the other monks were singing Matins. According to his own account he persuaded one of the brethren to withdraw with him to the chapter house and there to give him the discipline, but this undoubtedly never happened. No monk went with him to the chapter-house, and the Father in question, who was his confessor, never left the choir. The novice was obviously in absolute good faith. He was astounded that his confessor denied the fact. He declared that he saw him in the chapter-house, that he heard his voice as he gave him absolution, and that he both heard and felt the strokes of the discipline which followed. He was finally only satisfied by believing that an angel had taken the form of the monk in question for this special occasion. On the other hand when the novice declared that something of the blood which his hands had caught had fallen on to the ground in certain specified places, this statement, when search was made, was found to be quite accurate. The narrator further states that some of the older brethren averred that the same cross had been known to bleed miraculously at some former distant date, and that several years before, when a monk was very ill, it was recommended that the cross should be washed and that the sick man should drink the rinsings. This was done and he recovered. To me, however, this incident seems only to point

to the conclusion that the novice also may have heard of the tradition and that the whole episode of the bleeding was in this way suggested to his sub-conscious mind.

The difficulty, however, remains—where did the blood come from ? It does not seem that the novice had been bleeding at the nose. The narrator expressly states that when they picked him up and took him to his cell they washed the blood from his face and hands. In doing this they noted that there was a mass of clotted blood round the *middle* of the nose, and that it could not have flowed through the nostrils.[1] I am inclined to suggest that some sort of sweat of blood had taken place from the forehead—this is a phenomenon which one meets not infrequently in the case of stigmatics—and it would also explain why the crucifix only exhibited marks of blood on the right foot and on the side, which were the places which the novice could conveniently reach, and which, as we learn from his own statement, he kissed again and again.

That this exudation of blood from the eyes and from the forehead is not uncommon in the case either of stigmatics or hysterical patients may be proved by a good many examples. With regard to the latter class, Dr. J. Parrot in 1859 collected six cases of "hæmatidrosis," or sweat of blood, and in three of these the "tears of blood" are expressly insisted on.[2] As for stigmatized mystics, it may be sufficient here to recall the instance of Elizabeth of Herkenrode in the 13th century,[3] and that of Gemma Galgani in the 20th. Both of these bled copiously from the eyes. "The blood ran from those innocent eyes," says Gemma's biographer, who was also her confessor, "not in drops, but, as I have said, in streams, saturating her garments, while some yet

[1] "Nasus vero circa medium quidem sanguine indurato concretus erat, sed liquido patebat ipsum de naribus nequaquam profluxisse." *Analecta Bollandiana*, xxii., 252.

[2] See Arthus and Chanson, "Sur les Sueurs de Sang," in the *Revue Thomiste*, vol. vi., Jan., 1899, pp. 675, 678, 681.

[3] See the Bollandist Catalogue of the Hagiographical MSS. of Brussels, vol. i., p. 371.

remained coagulated in the hollows round the eyes and had to be removed in morsels."[1]

The story of the novice of Eynsham seems to be exceptionally interesting as probably the first on record of the many cases in which we are left in doubt as to whether hysteria or the supernatural is responsible for the phenomenal appearance of blood, marking, or exuding from, objects of devotion. There are several other examples, of which, in order not to extend this article beyond due limits, I propose to give an account on a future occasion. Meanwhile, it may be pointed out that the crimson traces of blood, affecting, as the portents above recorded would alone suffice to show, even the normal imagination in a very high degree, are likely to make a quite exceptional appeal to the sensibilities of the hysterical and mentally unbalanced. Moreover we know that with such *maladif* persons, the craving for notoriety, the desire to impress or to startle, and the wish to attract sympathy, are very potent factors in the determination of all their activities, both conscious and unconscious. That the imagination, excited by its own memories or figments, should find itself haunted by visions of blood, is intelligible enough. What is more, in many of these cases of hysteria, hæmatemeses and hæmoptyses (vomiting and spitting of blood) are of constant occurrence, and are in fact symptoms of the disease. All this must react upon the consciousness or the sub-consciousness of the person so afflicted. Sometimes, as obviously in the case of the monk of Eynsham, the effects which follow are quite independent of choice or volition. Sometimes they seem to be dictated by cunning, with the purpose of fraudulent deception. It is not always easy to decide between the two, and before we make the attempt to formulate any conclusions, it is desirable to consider some further practical examples, with which I hope to deal in another article.

HERBERT THURSTON.

[1] Father Germanus, *Life of Gemma Galgani*, Eng. Trans. p. 421.

THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE PEOPLE.

BY PROFESSOR ALFRED O'RAHILLY, M.A., PH.D.

I.—History of the Principle.

THE current Protestant view is that democracy was introduced by the Reformation ; and unfortunately this travesty of history is nowadays accepted as a commonplace by many Catholics.[1] It is admitted, of course, that the Jesuits artfully " took a leaf from the Calvinistic book of political theory,"[2] and thus for a century or so propagated alien democratic principles within the Church. This is the accepted thesis of contemporary non-Catholic Liberalism, and it is also held by a recent school of Catholic conservatives who, from the opposite standpoint, are equally desirous of repudiating any connection between Catholic teaching and democracy. One has but to open some recent manual to find the doctrine of popular supremacy referred to as " the doctrine of the ancients," the view upheld by " Bellarmine, Suarez, and not a few Scholastics," " the theory of social contract advocated by Cardinal Bellarmine and Francis Suarez," and so on.[3] It is plainly thereby insinuated that this

[1] I have attempted to refute this in two articles on " The Catholic Origin of Democracy " and " The Sources of English and American Democracy," in STUDIES, March and June, 1919.

[2] H. D. Forster, *American Hist. Review*, 21 (1915-16), 500. Ranke's statement is more accurate, for he wrote before the idea of Protestant democracy had become an established fiction. " The Jesuits," he complains (*History of the Popes*, vi. 1, Eng. trans., 1848, ii. 4), " made no scruple of deriving the power of the prince from the people." He correctly gives the Protestant theory of absolutism and passive obedience : " God alone, as the Protestants maintained, appoints princes over the human race ; He reserves to Himself the office of exalting and abasing them, of apportioning and moderating the powers they are called on to exercise " (*ibid.* ii. 12). Cf. also L. von Ranke, *Sämtliche Werke*, 24 (1872), 227.

[3] Cathrein, *Phil. moralis*, 1915[9], § 577, p. 391 ; Reinstadler, *Elementa* 1913[7] ii. 470 ; Vermeersch, *Quaestiones de iustitia*, 1904[2], § 559, p. 704 ; Cronin, *Science of Ethics*, 2 (1917) ; Pius La Scala, *Cursus phil.* (1910-11) ii. 251.

democratic theory is a mere intrusion into Catholic political philosophy, due either to the inaccurate thinking of old writers such as St. Thomas, and their ignorance of the horrors of modern democracy,[1] or else to the mistaken zeal of Jesuit radicals such as Bellarmine and Suarez, who exalted the people simply as a dodge to depress the prince and to bring power to holy Mother Church.[2] It is quite in accordance with this idea that contemporary text-books of Catholic ethics usually dismiss as unworthy of serious or detailed refutation a theory which is assumed to be the temporary divagation of a few otherwise reliable Catholic thinkers.[3]

Now, as a matter of fact, this attitude of recent and contemporary writers is due to a twofold ignorance: firstly, of the very modern and rather dubious origin of the theory, or rather theories, which such writers confidently put forward as if in some way Catholic orthodoxy were bound up therewith; and secondly, of the continuous and practically unanimous adhesion which was given to the Scholastic theory ever since the thirteenth

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[1] Zigliara, *Phil. moralis*, 1912[15], p. 272; Comte de Vareilles-Sommières, *Les principes fond. du droit*, 1889, p. 113; Taparelli, *Saggio teoretico di dritto naturale*, note 79, ed. 1900, i. 269.

[2] L. von Ranke, *Sämtliche Werke*, 24 (1872), 230; Franck, *Réformateurs et publicistes de l'Europe : dix-septième siècle*, 1881, p. 47. Following the Protestants, several modern Jesuit followers of Taparelli have made similar insinuations against Suarez: Meyer. *Inst. iuris naturalis*, 1900, ii. 353 (§ 396); Vermeersch, *De iustitia*, 1904[2], § 559, p. 705; Rickaby, *Scholasticism*, 1908, pp. 113f; Schiffini, *Disp. phil. moralis*, 1891, § 450 (ii. 399).

[3] As examples of summary refutations: "Haec doctrina veterum . . . non videtur esse vera. . . Negamus principes saeculares a communitate accipere condendi leges potestatem."—Tepe, *Inst. theol. moralis* (1898), i. 337, 339. "Our criticism of this theory can only be of the briefest kind. In the first place, the theory of Suarez rests on a purely groundless supposition. . . ."—Cronin, *Ethics*, ii. 501. It is not usually considered necessary to give any quotations, hardly even references. Thus Zigliara mentions less than six names and gives one short quotation from Victoria (torn from its context and ambiguous), on the strength of which he declares the theory obscure and its upholders excusable only because they were not faced by present-day questions.—*Phil. moralis*, 1912[15], p. 272. Even this meagre account is exploited at second-hand, *e.g.*, by Volpi, *Lectiones phil. moralis*, ii. (1900), 163, and Schiffini, *Disp. phil. moralis*, 1891, § 445 (ii. 387).

century. "In the later Middle Ages," admits Sidwick,[1] "from the end of the thirteenth century onward, it is the most accepted doctrine, that secular government rests on the consent of the people, who have an original right to choose their own form of government." Such a doctrine, which for so many centuries, right down to our own times, has formed an integral part of Scholasticism, deserves a better fate than to be left quietly to drop into desuetude and oblivion, especially in these days when a favourite argument of our enemies is that the Church is opposed to the People. If it has to be abandoned, it merits more research into its history and meaning than it has hitherto received. Moreover, it is the clear duty of contemporary compilers of manuals, intended for young Catholic students, to give to the Scholastic theory of political power due consideration and tolerance, and to refrain from urging some newly invented anti-democratic reaction, as if it were the only view which a Catholic reader is entitled to hold. No doubt, in matters philosophical we must not argue solely or chiefly from authority; the Scholastic democratic theory does not become true merely because it was held by practically all Catholic philosophers and theologians for six centuries. But at the present time it is really necessary to appeal to this extrinsic authority to establish one's liberty of thought against what looks very like a concerted conspiracy on the part of most (but not all) text-books issued since the appearance of Taparelli's Essay (1840-41).[2] It is a common experience of every Catholic democrat to find half-a-dozen present-day manuals triumphantly quoted against him. The most effective

[1] *Development of European Polity*, 1903, p. 332. So also Viollet, *Histoire des institutions politiques et administratives de la France*, 2 (1898), pp. 2f. It is not really correct to say that the theory of government by consent—except as consciously formulated and generalised political theory—began only in the thirteenth century. It can easily be proved, for instance, to underlie the Gothic rule in Spain, as well as the Carlovingian and Merovingian monarchy.

[2] As even de Vareilles-Sommières (p. 357) practically admits: "In our century, at least until the appearance of Taparelli's work, most theologians also accepted the thesis of the alienable sovereignty of the people."

retort is to point out that the argument from authority, if it is to be used at all, lies against those who have so lightly rejected the unanimous tradition of the School, not indeed in a thesis directly pertaining to faith, but concerning a matter where error may have very serious social and religious consequences.[1]

It is obviously impossible within the limits of an article to outline the proof that popular sovereignty is the traditional political theory of Catholic philosophy. The only really satisfactory method is to make a tedious and exhaustive research by enumeration and citation. This has already been partially and imperfectly done;[2] a completer and more detailed investigation than has yet been made, I hope to publish in a long-delayed work on Catholic Democracy. It will suffice here to deal briefly with one point, namely, the rather common assumption that Suarez was an innovator and represents what may be called the left wing of Catholic politics. "Authority is a divine institution," says Father Joseph Rickaby,[3] "but kings are a human invention. The saying is a platitude in our time; three centuries ago, when Suarez wrote, it was a bold and startling pronouncement." "Before the time of Suarez," writes Schiffini,[4] "hardly

[1] "Ex auctorum omnium scholasticorum communi sententia in re quidem gravi, usque adeo probabilia sumuntur argumenta ut illis refragari temerarium sit. . . . Scholae igitur communem consensum non nisi impudenter et temere reiciemus."—Melchior Cano, *De locis theologicis*, viii. 4, 2 (ed. Migne, 1860, p. 400). "Quamquam controversia haec ad fidei dogmata directe non pertinet—nihil enim ex divina scriptura aut patrum traditione in illa definitum ostendi potest—nihilominus diligenter tractanda et explicanda est; tum quia potest esse occasio errandi in aliis dogmatibus, . . . tum denique quia sententiam illustrissimi Bellarmini antiquam, receptam, veram ac necessariam esse censemus."—Suarez, *Defensio Fidei*, iii. 2, 2. Cf. Mendive, Ethica, 1888, pp. 423f.

[2] Costa-Rosetti, *Philosophia moralis*, Innsbruck, 1886², Féret, *Le pouvoir civil devant l'enseignement catholique*, Paris, 1888; Quilliet, *De civilis potestatis origine theoria catholica*, Lille, 1893.

[3] Article "Authority," in *Cath. Enc.*, ii. 139*b*. The pronouncement was neither bold nor startling; it was the veriest commonplace in the Middle Ages and occurs quite formally in patristic commentaries on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, *e.g.*, Chrysostom, *In Rom.*, hom. 23, n. 1 (P.G. 60, 615), Theodoret, *Interpretatio ep. ad Rom.*, c. 13 v. 1 (P.G. 82, 193).

[4] *Disp. phil. mor.*, 1891, § 460, ii. 427.

a single writer can be cited for such a view." The most direct and conclusive refutation of this position is to give a brief list of some of the Catholic writers who, prior to the publication of the *De Legibus* of Suarez (in 1612), maintained the doctrine of popular supremacy and government by consent. I have personally and at first hand verified the doctrine in the following among other Scholastic predecessors of Suarez, the date denoting the year of death where ascertainable :—

A. Fourteenth Century (i.e., writers who died before 1400).—John of Paris (1306), Enghelbert (1311), Aegidius Romanus (1316), William Durand (1332), Alvarez Pelayo (1340), Petrus de Palude (1342), Marsilius of Padua (after 1342), Cardinal P. Bertrand (1349), Lupold of Bebenburg (1363), Nicholas d'Oresme (1382).

B. Fifteenth Century.—Cardinal F. de Zabarellis, P. d'Ailly (1425), John Gerson (1429), St. Bernardino of Siena (1444), St. Antonino of Florence (1459), Alph. Tostat (Abulensis, 1452), Petrus de Monte (1457), Card. Nicholas of Cusa (1464), Aeneas Sylvius (1464), John of Torquemada (1468).

C. Sixteenth Century.—James Almain (1515), Cajetan (1534), John Driedo (1535), Card. Gaspar Contarini (1542), Francis of Vitoria (1546), John of Medina (1547), John Major (1550), Ambrosius Catharinus (1553), Alf. de Castro (1558), Card. R. Pole (1558), Dom. de Soto (1560), Ferd. Vazquez Menchaca (1566), Diego Covarruvias (1577), Antonius Cordubensis (1578), Nicholas Sander (1581), Barth. of Medina (1581), Martin Azpilcueta (Navarrus, 1586), Peter of Navarre, Peter of Aragon, Michael de Palacios (1593).

D. Seventeenth Century (writers prior to 1612).—Barth. de Ledesma (1604), Dom. Bañes (1604), Luis Miranda, Gregory Sayr (1602), L. Carbo, Estius (Wm. Hessels van Est, 1613), Diego Cabezudo (1614), Ant. de Quintanadueñas (1628).

E. Jesuit Predecessors of Suarez.—James Lainez (1565), Alph. Salmeron (1585), Card. F. Toledo (1596), Luis de Molina (1600), John Azor (1603), Card. Robert Bellarmine (1621), Gregory of Valentia (1603), Robert Persons (1610, Juan de Salas (1612, James Gretser (1625), Juan de Mariana (1624), B. Giustiniani (1622).

An inspection of the above list of sixty names shows that it includes all the principal writers of the period.

It could easily be extended by including writers prior to the fourteenth century—such as Hincmar of Rheims, Manegold of Lautenbach, William of Auvergne, St. Thomas, Duns Scotus—and canonists (such as Hostiensis), not to speak of legists. The significance of the list is further increased by the fact that among accepted Catholic writers during these centuries there is not a trace of any rival or alternative political theory; the only discordant expressions which occur are uttered by a few unorthodox partisans of Lewis of Bavaria. It may, therefore, be taken as certain that Suarez was perfectly justified in declaring that his teaching, so far from being an innovation, was commonly accepted by theologians and jurists.[1] That this was the case for two and a half centuries subsequent to Suarez, hardly needs to be proved.

No competent opponent has gone so far as to state that the Scholastic theory has now become obsolescent or obsolete; but the silence concerning recent defenders and the allusions to the theory as "the doctrine of the ancients," which characterize many widely-read text-books, are really tantamount to such an assertion. Even if it were true, there is no ground for surprise or discouragement at the decay of a theory which was once upheld by the Church's greatest philosophers and theologians. Three centuries ago Cartesianism almost completely ousted Scholastic philosophy from the Catholic schools; only in the latter half of the last century did Scholasticism again revive. In 1881 Liberatore recast his *Institutiones* and in his preface recounted that, when forty years before he started to restore the all but extinct philosophy of S. Thomas, he was considered mad. "There was once a time," wrote Dalgairns in 1861,[2] "when there reigned

[1] *De legibus*, iii. 2, 3; *Defensio*, iii. 2, 2, 5, and 10.

[2] Holy Communion, ed. 1861, pp. 22, 35. Cf. Lemaire, *Le Cartésianisme chez les Bénédictins*, 1902. In the early 19th century Scholastic philosophy was unknown at Maynooth. In 1808 the only philosophical text-books used there were Locke and Seguy.—Healy, *Maynooth College*, 1895, p. 271. "One whole year is

on earth a philosophy borrowed from an old heathen. . . . For hundreds of years it reigned paramount, if not alone, in the schools of Christendom. . . . It is now nearly forgotten."

It can be shown, however, that Scholastic political theory, thanks to moral theologians rather than to philosophers, survived even during the long interregnum of Scholastic metaphysics; and at the present day is showing an ever increasing progress and vitality. It would be possible to add to the names of Suarez's sixty predecessors just given the names of sixty Catholic nineteenth-century writers who upheld and uphold the same doctrine. Cardinals such as Gonzalez, Hergenröther, Mazzella, Lavigerie, Manning, and Billot; Archbishops Maret, Ireland, Hughes and Spalding; Bishops Parisis, Guilbert, de Ségur, Hugonin [1]; Jesuits such as Draghetti, Chastel, Ramière, Costa-Rossetti, W. Hill, Watt, Van der Aa, Castelein, Mendive, Holaind, Brosnahan, Macksey,[2] Cavallera [3]; well known historical and critical writers like Marina, Rohrbacher, Balmes, Moulart, Féret, Quilliet; authors of widely-read text-books such as Dens, Scavini, Devoti, Brugère, Rutten, Vallet, Marcellus a Puero Iesu, Rodriguez de Cepeda, Gredt; philosophers and publicists like Bautain, Ventura, Raboisson, Desorges, Godard, Périn, Frémont, Ryan; these and many other distinguished writers have within the last century maintained, handed down and improved the Scholastic theory of political

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always devoted to logic and metaphysics upon Locke's system; and another to mathematics, physics and astronomy, in which Newton is the chief guide.—— Milner, *An Inquiry into certain vulgar Opinions concerning the Catholic Inhabitants and the Antiquities of Ireland*, 1808, p. 19.

[1] In 1848 nearly all the French Episcopate supported the democratic theory—Bazin, *Vie de Mgr. Maret*, 1891, vol. i., ch. 15, pp. 190ff. Cf. Cabane, *Histoire du clergé de France pendant la révolution de 1848*, 1908'.

[2] Professor of Ethics in the Gregorian University, 1911-1919. (See his *De Ethica Naturali*, 1914, p. 527).

[3] Professor of Positive Theology in the Catholic Institute of Toulouse since 1909. (See his article on "Suarez et la doctrine catholique sur l'origine du pouvoir" in *Bulletin de Littérature ecclésiastique*, March, 1912).

authority. With such exponents it is in no danger of premature obsolescence.[1]

II.—THE SCHOLASTIC THEORY.

The Scholastic theory may be briefly stated; its underlying principles and arguments will emerge more clearly in considering some objections. The immediate and primary subject of political power is the people, not as a mere aggregate, but as forming a mystical body and as constituting a corporate personality. This power resides in the people *ex natura rei*, not by any special concession of God, apart from creation and conservation, but rather by way of natural concomitance or immediate result.

This power is not in individual men taken separately, nor is it in the collection or aggregate of men taken in confusion and without order and union of members into one body. Hence the constitution of such a political body is prior to the existence of such power among men, since the subject of power must be prior, at least in the order of nature, to the power. But as soon as that body is constituted, this power is in it immediately by virtue of natural reason. Therefore it is rightly understood to exist by way of attribute resulting from such mystic body, constituted in such concrete existence.[2]

That is, assuming the consent of men to form a community, sovereignty by the very fact pertains to that community without any further intervention of human wills. Men have power to delimit this political authority, to make contours and boundaries in its distribution, to determine the totalities in which it is localised; but they neither create such authority nor can they suppress it,

[1] Since writing the above I have discovered the following information concerning the teaching in Rome: The Scholastic theory is taught in the Carmelite International College (Dr. Ronayne), the Benedictine Scholasticate of S. Anselmo (Dom Gredt), the Gregorian University (Canon Law Professors Ojetti, Vidal, Graziosi, Steiger, Capello).

[2] Suarez, *De legibus*, iii. 3, 6. R. de Arriaga (following Salas, *De legibus*, vii. 2) puts this even more clearly: "Ea potestas non aliter a Deo provenit quam ut homines creat eosque conservat. . . . Si intellegeremus homines existentes

for it is a moral fact, inevitably and immediately consequent on the existence even of a consent-formed community.[1] Sovereignty, therefore, is essentially the attribute of the people as forming a juristic personality.

If supreme political authority is in any particular instance found to inhere in any other personality, sole or corporate, save that of the people, it is there only derivatively, and in virtue of communal consent. It is generally admitted by the Scholastics that this transfer of power to a " prince " may be either complete or partial ; and this, as a matter of historical fact, is correct, for absolute monarchies have existed. But it is not at all clear that the *mere existence* of such instances of absolute alienation—apart from concomitant acquiescence—proves their moral validity, except such accidental, extrinsic and consequential validity as might follow from the actual functioning of such absolutism. The only argument adduced by some of the Schoolmen—that a nation as well as an individual may voluntarily enslave itself—is singularly weak.[2] Moreover, it is vehemently rejected by many writers, who deny the historical occurrence of any such absolute and permanent cession of power to a ruler ;

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etiamsi Deus non esset, esset tamen in hominibus potestas constituendi unam rempublicam et elegendi suum caput a quo gubernarentur."—*De legibus* xiii. 2, 7-8. This idea of the people as a corporate personality already appears in St. Thomas : " Condere legem vel pertinet ad totam multitudinem vel pertinet ad personam publicam quae totius multitudinis curam habet."—1, 2, q. 90, a. 3.

[1] Some Scholastics would not admit this, *e.g.*, Arriaga (*De legibus*, xiii. 3, 13) : " Dico de iure naturae non esse ut actu sit aliqua potestas. . . . Solum ergo est de iure naturae quod possint convenire homines." Cf. Bellarmine (*De laicis*, 6) : " Non pendet ex consensu hominum ; nam, velint nolint, debent regi ab aliquo." On which Vareilles-Sommières (*Principes fond. du droit*, p. 374) remarks : " The *nolint* is irreconcilable with the necessity of popular investiture which, nevertheless, the same Bellarmine requires for every government." This is a complete misunderstanding. The Scholastic analysis is : (1) consent to coexist as a community ; (2) consequent authority as attribute of this community which, as Bellarmine says, " does not depend on the consent of men " ; (3) concrete actualisation of this authority, which does depend on consent. " Supposita voluntate hominum conveniendi in una politica communitate, non est in potestate eorum impedire hanc iurisdictionem."—Suarez, *De legibus*, iii. 3, 2. So also Lessius, *De perfectionibus*, x. 2, 8.

[2] Suarez, *De legibus*, iii. 3, 7, *Defensio*, iii. 2, 9 ; Castro Palao, *De legibus*, i. 22, 4 ; Arriaga, *De legibus*, xiii. 3, 16 ; Neubauer, *De legibus*, 89.

and these theologians also maintain that the prior consent of the people is necessary for the validation of a law.

I conclude [writes Alfonso de Castro][1] that a law concerning a matter not necessary in virtue of divine law, which is passed by the prince or other magistrate in spite of the whole people, is of no force whatever—unless perchance the people may have without reservation transferred all their power to the prince or senate. But it can scarcely be believed that any people have made such a prodigal effusion of their power and liberty.

In any case even the absolute alienation, alleged as possible by some of the Scholastics, is not asserted to be unlimited and irrevocable; there are always reservations in virtue of natural law; there is an ultimate right of re-assumption by the people in the interests of the common good.[2] This limitation of all derivative sovereignty is expressed in various ways by Catholic writers. The people retain authority *in habitu* or *in radice;* or they retain its possession and alienate only its exercise or use.[3]

The right of instituting a new form of government and a new investiture of power [says Cardinal Billot], is always in the com-

[1] *De pot. legis* (1550), i. 1; *Opera* (1571), p. 1520. This must not be confused with the view—strangely liberal to modern ears—which the Scholastics and Canonists held with practical unanimity, namely, that any law which, though *per se* valid, was not accepted by the people, possessed no obligation. Other writers who reject complete alienation of power are Almain, *De suprema potestate*, *q.* 1, c. 16 (Goldast, *Monarchia*, i. 623); Major, 4 *Sent.*, d. 15, q. 10, also ap. Gerson, *Opera*, 1706, ii. 1139; Mariana, *De rege*, i. 5; Tanner, *Theol. schol.*, tom 2, disp. 5, q. 5, dub. 4, n. 129 (ii. 1040); Becanus, *Summa theol.* schol., p. 2, tr. 3, c. 6, q. 8 (ii. 618f); Caramuel, *Theologia moralis fundamentalis*, §§ 673, 869, 926 (1657^3, pp. 182, 238, 324).

[2] Cf. *Irish Theol. Quarterly*, October, 1920, pp. 306f.

[3] *In habitu:* Almain, *De auct. ecclesia*, c. 1 (Gerson, *Opera*, ed. 1706, ii. 978); Azpilcueta (Navarrus), *Relectio cap. novit de iudic.*, notab. 3, n. 120 (*Opera*, Ven. 1602, iv. 595); Bellarmine, *Apologia*, 13; *Opera*, Naples, 1859, 4 (2), p. 399; Suarez, *Defensio.* iii. 3, 3; Dominic of St. Thomas, apud Rocaberti, *Bibliotheca*, x. 179*a*; Billot, *De ecclesia Christi*, 1903^2, p. 521. *In radice:* Lessius, *De perfectionibus moribusque divinis*, x. 2, 9. Only exercise or use alienated: Navarrus, op. cit.; Ventura, *Essai sur le pouvoir public*, 1859, pp. 431f; Rutten, *Ethicae seu phil. moralis elementa*, 1872^2, p. 253.

[4] Reference in previous note. Cf. Ryan, *Catholic Doctrine on the Right of Self-Government*, 1919, p. 31: "A politically competent people have the right to modify essentially their constitution, and even by passive resistance to force a monarch to abdicate, when they are unwaveringly convinced that they can provide a better government, and when this conviction corresponds with the facts." It

munity, so far as is required by necessity of the public good. Hence, generally speaking, every government to which the community peacefully adheres is to be considered legitimate. The proof is essentially this, that the right of rule is, unlike the right of property, not ordained for the good of the possessor, but simply and solely for the good of the society for which it is exercised. It follows at once, by an evident and clear dictate of natural law, that in this matter only the public good is to be taken into account, so that if the necessity of the public good requires a new form of government and a new investiture of rulers, no pre-existing personal or family right can stand in the way. It follows also that this new constitution of a legitimate government pertains to the same as did the former; and thus the so-called constituent power always remains potentially (*in habitu*) in the community.

The Scholastic theory may now be fairly summarised as follows. Sovereignty is an essential attribute of the people, as constituting a corporate entity; it is radically and fundamentally inalienable, but for convenience and efficiency it may be transferred, by and with the consent of the community, for such time and under such conditions as the people deem expedient for the public good. The ultimate test of the juridical validity of any system of government is the consent of the governed.

III.—Some Objections.

Several recent Catholic manuals have raised serious objections to the theory outlined above. A few of them will now be considered.

(A). Suarez and many other writers include just conquest as a primary title to sovereignty. It has been urged, and rightly urged, that this is not reconcilable with the principle that all sovereignty emanates from the people.[1] Suarez attempts to make it appear so by saying

may be observed (1) that the limitation of resistance to passivity is a question of expediency, not of principle; (2) that the final arbiter of the "correspondence with the facts" is the people, not the repudiated government; (3) that the most vital *fact* of all, perhaps the only really relevant one, is the conviction itself.

[1] Vareilles-Sommières, *Princ. fond. du droit*, pp. 374f; Liberatore, *Inst. ethicae*, 1884[3], p. 259.

that in this case consent is *due* as a result of some crime. But this is a new and contradictory idea ; it admits that the conqueror has a right prior to consent and not founded thereon ; it further assumes that a moral obligation to consent is, from the objective juridical and political standpoint, synonymous with actual consent, just as one might assume that an obligation to marry is identical with marriage. Furthermore, it is supposed, on the antiquated analogy of the enslavement of prisoners of war, that the suppression and subjugation of nations is a legitimate function of " just " wars. Finally, it has been conclusively shown by history that without a supernational tribunal the Scholastic theory of a just war is quite unworkable. The conquered think it unjust, the conqueror thinks it just. As Suarez himself concedes,[1]

> it happens more often that a kingdom is occupied through an unjust war, and in this way the more famous empires of the world were extended. In that case neither the kingdom nor the true power is acquired, for the title of justice is lacking. But in course of time it may happen that the people freely consent or that the kingdom is acquired by prescription in good faith by the successors ; and then the tyranny will cease and true dominion and power will begin.

The simplest answer to this objection is frankly to admit its relevancy, to deny the assumptions of Suarez, and to confess that it is only by the mere quibble of quasi-consent that he subsumes enforced conquest under free consent. This is the position of several among those modern Scholastics who adhere to the Scholastic theory.[2] In a just war the victor *quâ* victor has no rights ; but *quâ* just he has a right to justice, i.e., to indemnity, reparation, and guarantees. That justice necessitates the enslavement of peoples is a false doctrine, whose refutation has been written in blood ; its falsity is intensified

[1] *Defensio*, iii. 2, 20. Cf. *De legibus*, iii. 4, 4.

[2] Zallinger, *Inst. iuris naturalis*, § 207, Rome, 1832, i. 429 ; Macksey, *De ethica naturali*, 1914, p. 544 ; Macksey, *Sovereignty and Consent*, 1920, pp. 24f ; Marcellus a Puero Iesu, *Phil. moralis*, 1913, p. 728.

by the fact that all victors deem their wars just; might likes to masquerade as right.[1]

(B). The quotation just given from Suarez seems to justify the objection that the Scholastic theory is inconsistent inasmuch as it apparently admits that usurpation may be legitimated either by consent or by prescription. But it is certaintly hazardous to father such a view on Suarez merely on the ground that he *once* speaks of consent *or* prescription; especially as he distinctly declares elsewhere :[2]

> When a kingdom is possessed by mere unjust force, there is no true legislative power in the king. But it can happen that in course of time the people consent and admit such a rule; and then the [source of] power will be reduced to the transfer and donation of the people.

There is no doubt whatever that, consistently with its fundamental principle, the Scholastic theory has no place for prescription as a primary title to political power. Prescription, as such, has really no place in natural law at all; it is only in virtue of positive human law, for instance, that mere length of possession confers ownership. One of the propositions condemned in the Syllabus is that "an unjust fact, if crowned by success, does not injure the sanctity of right."[3] What modern opponents of the Scholastic theory mean by prescription is that social conditions and circumstances, which usually take time to mature (though this is quite irrelevant), may

[1] On reconsidering the above paragraph, I think it is too severe on Suarez. In admitting title by just conquest, Suarez probably did not abandon his criterion of consent; he merely superseded national consent by world-consent. This is his argument: Conquest in *just* war is based on the *ius gentium* (*Studies*, June, 1918, p 230), which is based on world-consent (*Studies*, Dec. 1920, p. 585).

[2] *De legibus* iii. 4, 4.

[3] No. 61: Fortunata facti iniustitia nullum iuris sanctitati detrimentum affert. Cf. Balmes, *El protestantismo* ii. 234 (ed. Paris, 1887), Eng. trans. ch. 55: "If Napoleon had succeeded in establishing his power amongst us, the Spanish nation would still have maintained the right on account of which it revolted in 1808; victory could not have rendered usurpation legitimate. . . . What will be safe here below if we admit the principle that success insures justice and that the conqueror is always the rightful ruler?"

create, on the part of the people, a moral obligation to consent to an existing rule. This, as a mere matter of theory, may be conceded. But this concession is rather academic, inasmuch as usurpation is practically always an oppression also and thus incapable of any such rights, and when it is really not oppressive but for the people's good, it is almost sure to receive the community's consent. The real mistake in treating prescription as a primary title to political power lies in the confusion of moral obligation to consent, which may possibly occur in rare cases, with actual consent, which *ex hypothesi* is not given. Whereas the Scholastics hold that even a forced consent is insufficient to validate a government; a usurping rule becomes juridically valid only when the people give to it their free consent.[1]

But the Scholastics were well aware that this consent may be given tacitly and gradually; and they admitted prescription, in the sense of long-continued peaceful prosperous possession, not as *title* but as *evidence* of the people's acquiescence and consent. Thus Lessius says:[2]

> A tyrant cannot prescriptively acquire a right of rule against a free people when he holds them only by fear so that they are not presumed to consent freely to him. The reason is that in such cases of forceful usurpation prescription cannot confer a right, *except in so far as long-continued exercise and possession beget the presumption of the free consent of those concerned.*

The admission of such a kind of prescription, so far from being inconsistent, is merely an application of the Scholastic theory of government with the consent of the governed.

(C.) Perhaps the commonest objection of all is the statement, usually made rather bluntly and dogmatically, that the Scholastic theory is "at variance with historical

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[1] Cf. Navarrus, *Relectio* "*Novit*," notab. 3, n 151; *Opera*, Venice, 1602, iv. 603*a*.

[2] *De iustitia et iure* ii. 5, 8, 41 (Antv. 1612, p. 48*a*). He also says (*ibid.* ii. 29, 9, 70; p. 370*b*): The usurper "not only sinned by invading the country, but also continually sins (both himself and his heir) by keeping the country oppressed and subject to him; until at length he is spontaneously received by the kingdom—

fact."[1] To prove this we are told that " the first political rulers derived their authority at a time when such a compact would have been almost unthinkable, a period when any attempt to superimpose upon the family or tribal organisation, based upon the tie of blood, another organisation based upon a wholly different principle, viz., popular election to power, would have been exceedingly difficult, if not wholly impossible." This is merely an attempt to bury the problem in prehistoric darkness; one might with equal propriety and relevancy refute the civilised idea of marriage (prescinding from revelation) by referring to a time when such a marriage compact would have been almost unthinkable. Practically everything of the kind does become unthinkable if one accepts the modern conclusions about prehistoric man. The Scholastics, however, apparently took Adam more literally than do their successors. And also, with more science and prudence, they largely confined themselves to the verifiable history of civilised peoples—the Republic and Empire of Rome, the Jewish Kingdom, the Frankish Monarchy, the Holy Roman Empire—in whose constitutional theories consent and election were included.

But the real answer to this objection goes to the root of the matter: the problem is moral and juridical, not historical at all. " Judiciously explained and not driven home too rigidly," writes Father Rickaby,[2] " the Suarezian

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which can happen if it is *sui iuris* and subject to no other ruler—or after a long interval prescription arises." Lessius is here thinking of a town or province incapable of being *sui iuris*. The Schoolmen admitted—as do also their modern opponents, though these latter exaggerate the quasi-property rights of the expelled ruler or dynasty—prescription *against the ousted government*, i.e., the cessation of the community's obligation-to-consent to the vanquished ruler if still existent. Cf. Costa-Rossetti, *Phil. moralis*, 1886[2], pp. 662f; Van der Aa, *Ethica*, 1889, p. 203; Desorges, *De l'origine et de la nature du pouvoir*, 1869, pp. 131f; Raboisson, *Du pouvoir*, 1874, p. 297.

[1] Cronin, *Ethics*, ii. 503. So also Vareilles-Sommières, pp. 376f; Cathrein, § 584, p. 396; Vermeersch, § 559, p. 705; Reinstadler, *Elementa*, 1913[7], ii. 472; Rickaby, *Moral Philosophy*, p. 337, and *Political and Moral Essays*, p. 109; Pius La Scala, loc. cit.

[2] *Political and Moral Essays*, 1902, p. 112.

[he means Scholastic] theory of the origin of civil authority appears to be as accurate as any theory can be accurate under the vast variety of circumstances that have affected that origin in history." With all due respect it must be said that this distinguished Jesuit is confusing philosophy with history, politics with ethnology. Similarly, when another able critic [1] says that "to show what is general and invariable in the causes and in the formation of all civil societies, is to indicate the philosophical origin of civil society," we must reply that it is nothing of the kind. Such an analysis is concerned solely with historical causative factors, whereas the philosophical origin of society and government means the ground of their validity. The problem has no connection with temporal priority or with antecedents in a historical process; it concerns the ethical justification, not only in the past but here and now, of a certain moral nexus between men. The Scholastic theory asserts that *consent* is the intrinsic essential moral factor which juridically validates these relationships. It may or may not be true that such and such organisations originated in force or fraud or superstition. The genetic development of these institutions is quite irrelevant; at any given stage they are or are not ethically valid according as they are or are not founded on consent, however this consent be motived.

It is true indeed that this theory, like every claim based on the concept of self or person, whether natural law or moral responsibility or deliberate volition, is idealistic in the sense of becoming continually more applicable as personality and self-consciousness grow. We may, therefore, adopt as our own what an opponent has declared by way of objection: "The individual has not at first the government of his acts; he begins by

[1] Comte de Vareilles-Sommières, p. 57. On p. 137 he inconsistently remarks that "it is impossible to understand how force can by itself alone create a valid society; force constrains but does not oblige." Precisely. But this introduces the idea of *moral validity*, on the strength of which the Count rejects force without examining if it is a general and invariable ingredient of nascent societies.

obeying fatal laws and then paternal authority. It is only after long years that he is master of himself. Reasoning by analogy, if it has any value here, would therefore lead to this conclusion : that civil society ought not to begin but to end with the sovereignty of the people."[1] Precisely. There is the same, as much and as little, historical evolution in the sovereignty of the people, as there is in natural law or the Ten Commandments. As a modern Scholastic says, in replying to the objection that this theory is unhistorical and unpractical :

> It exhibits the human ideal, of which the aristocratic or hereditary modes of designation are but imperfect approximations. And in our time it is specially urgent that we should consider this ideal. More and more the principle of heredity is becoming effaced in private and public posts ; more and more the machinism of modern industry is necessitating and developing the effort towards personal life, in the private and public order ; less and less do civilised men appear inclined to leave the supreme magistrate hereditary when any other is no longer so.[2]

(D). We are now in a better position to answer this query : " What is the necessity or opportuneness of this authority in the people, since the people, without exercising it, immediately transfer it to the ruler ? "[3] That is, how can the people by natural right possess a sovereignty which they cannot retain or exercise ? We might content ourselves with replying that if the people are unable to exercise sovereignty, they ought to be able ; just as we might reply to an upholder of the divorce court that people ought to be able to observe monogamy. In other words, the alleged inability occurs *per accidens*. That is, we cannot have a real democracy because the individuals lack personality, religion and character ; we cannot have

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[1] Vareilles-Sommières, pp. 367f.

[2] Schwalm, *Leçons de philosophie sociale*, ii. 502f. Cf. Bautain, *Philosophie morale*, 1842, ii. 452f.

[3] Vermeersch, *De iustitia*, 1904², § 559, p. 705. So also Taparelli, *Esame critico*, §§ 88, 125 (i. pp. 70, 102) ; Zigliara, pp. 270f ; Schiffini, § 447 (ii. 392-4) ; Vareilles-Sommières, p. 371 ; Cathrein, § 585, p. 397 ; O. Hill, *Ethics*, 1920, p. 380.

direct democracy such as exists in the Swiss Landesgemeinden, because the natural small political units are absorbed into unwieldy centralised empires. But is it true as a matter of fact that the people cannot retain and exercise sovereignty, even in spite of these disabilities ? The Scholastics not only freely admitted this possibility, but regarded republics like Venice and Genoa as being actual examples.[1] The horror of popular sovereignty, so noticeable in recent reactionary Catholic writers, is largely due to the delusion that it implies anarchy and instability ; as if Switzerland, where the people are sovereign, is more unstable and anarchical than England, where the Parliament claims to be sovereign. Popular supremacy, it must not be forgotten, is quite compatible with ample delegation of power and full equipment of officials ; it simply implies the possession of ultimate control by the people, exercised through referendum, initiative and suchlike. This is no more an objection to democracy than the existence of innumerable appointments and offices in which assistants, secretaries, and subordinates are indispensable, is an argument against all human organisation.[2]

ALFRED O'RAHILLY.

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[1] Navarrus, *Novit*, notabile 3, n. 148 (*Opera*, iv. 602). Suarez, *De legibus*, iii. 4, 1 : "Ex pura lege naturae non coguntur homines habere hanc potestatem in uno vel in pluribus vel in collectione omnium." Cf. *ibid.* iii. 9, 6. Bellarmine stands practically alone in maintaining that the people are bound by the law of nature to transfer their power, "for the nation cannot *by itself exercise* this power."—*De laicis*, 6 : *Opera* (Naples ed.), ii. 317. But the nation can retain control, initiative, right of appointment, revocation, and ultimate decision. It is an utterly fallacious argument to say that a right does not exist because its detailed exercise and administration require the assistance and appointment of officials.

[2] The question of the bearing of certain recent Encyclicals on the Scholastic theory is reserved for a future article.

THE CURES THAT HAVE FAILED.

BY JAMES J. WALSH, M.D., PH.D.

LITERALLY the most important chapter in the history of therapeutics is the story of the "cures" that have failed. All down the course of medical history we find in each generation as a rule at least one, but often a whole series of remedies or modes of treatment which were vaunted as cures for disease and sometimes recognized as such even by authorities in medicine, though afterwards, on further investigation, they proved to have no physically curative effect at all, and indeed not rarely were determined by scientists to be rather harmful than beneficial to mankind. These "cures" were not alone for superficial or minor ailments, and above all they were not merely for nervous affections or for mere passing indispositions, but for conditions which often have lasted for a considerable period, sometimes even for years, and which were thought to be very serious. Not infrequently the "cures" secured their reputation and vogue because they brought relief and sometimes apparently complete restoration to health to patients who had consulted many physicians without avail. Indeed it was particularly the *cure* of what had seemed to be incurable cases which attracted wide attention to the new remedy and brought many people to try it, often with excellent effect.

Such cures have, of course, sometimes been with regard to affections that are naturally self-limited in their course. These get better of themselves after a definite

time, and the recovery of the patient is attributed to whatever remedy was taken not long before the disease took a decided course for the better. For instance, when Louis XIV suffered from typhoid fever, all sorts of remedies were tried to "break the fever," and, of course, without success while it was running its course. Unfortunately it so happened that a quack of the time was summoned to see the King in the third week of his affection. He administered a dose of old-fashioned antimony (it had been popular 100 years before, but had gone out of use), and not long afterwards, that is when it was naturally due to occur, the fever broke, and antimony was thus given a vogue in the treatment of fevers that lasted for a century or more. We have had a great many specifics recommended for erysipelas and for pneumonia, diseases which usually run a very definite course, the remedies owing their reputation entirely to the accidental circumstance that in the ordinary course of the disease whatever was administered to the patient on the third and fourth day in erysipelas, or from the fifth to the eighth day in pneumonia, would, in a great many cases, be followed after a day or two by the more or less critical descent of the fever and the beginning of convalescence.

These, however, are not "the cures that have failed" in the sense that I would use the expression. It is the remedies that have *cured* the chronic ailments of mankind, some of them deemed almost incurable, some supposed to be inevitably progressive,—yet which subsequent experience has utterly rejected,—that come under the rubric. Medical history is full of stories of chronic pains and aches, for instance some of them associated with disabilities of various kinds, which have been a source of complaint, especially in older people, for a long while, and are reported to have been "cured" by remedies or modes of treatment that afterwards proved utterly inefficacious or even seemed to succeeding generations to be quite absurd.

A brief review of even a few of the remedies and modes of treatment which have come and gone in the history of medicine in this chapter of "cures that have failed" enables us to appreciate very thoroughly something of the meaning of Hippocrates' expression as to medical practice—"Art is long, Time is short, Judgment difficult." Nearly everything on the earth and under the heavens and from the waters between has been hailed as a cure for some form or other of human ills, and many of them have made a reputation. The use of the herbs and simples (as they were called) to cure the diseases of men is well known. There are people who still believe in their wonderful efficaciousness; but as medicine has developed scientifically fewer and fewer of these herbal remedies are used, and there is now comparatively little confidence in them. Hospital experience carefully noted, with the results tabulated, and above all with the opportunity to study the course of cases in which affections have been allowed to run their course untreated, have played sad havoc with a great many medical persuasions as to the efficaciousness of remedies.

Tuberculosis, especially in the form of consumption, has had ever so many vaunted remedies that have come in and been welcomed even by physicians for a while because of their apparently wonderful curative power, and then, after a time, have been utterly lost sight of. Older physicians get to have an open but readily convincible mind with regard to these consumption "cures." The story is told of a distinguished old French clinician that when a young colleague, a sufferer from incipient consumption, applied to him to know whether he should try a certain new remedy for the disease which was just then producing wonderful results, the old man said: "Oh! yes, by all means try it, and try it now, while it cures, for after a while it will be found not to cure." Indeed consumption has been one of the diseases for which we have had more "cures that have failed"

than any other, and we still continue to have them. Scarcely a year passes that there is not an announcement of some remedy for consumption that has been working wonders in somebody's hands though even a few years later nothing is heard of it.

Even that other great scourge of mankind, cancer, though it is now recognized that the only cure for it is removal in some way, has also had a large number though not such a variety of "cures that have failed." The discoverers (!) of most of these "cures" for cancer have proclaimed that, while their remedies did not always cure the disease, they always relieved the pain, prolonged the patient's life, added distinctly to the sense of being well and sometimes produced intervals of well-being during which the patient was quite capable of taking up ordinary work for a while again. These "cures" have come in and gone out quite as regularly as the cures for tuberculosis, though not quite so frequently. The one unfortunate effect of both of these sets of remedies for tuberculosis and cancer has been that the use of them has only too often delayed the securing of such treatment as would be really effective for radical cure or at least for the prevention of such developments as make a fatality almost inevitable.

Perhaps the most interesting chapter in the history of the "cures that have failed" is that with regard to whiskey or some form of strong alcoholic liquor as a remedy and a preventive of disease. At one time it had a great reputation. Two generations ago it was considered to be one of the best stimulants that we had and without serious after-effects, if used with reasonable care. Some form of alcoholic stimulation, as it was then termed, was recommended in all the continued fevers, typhoid, septic, puerperal fever, as well as in tuberculosis and pneumonia. As a great many acute diseases are complicated by fever, it is quite surprising now to pick up a medical text-book of two generations ago and see

in how many different diseases alcohol was recommended as an extremely important support for the patient. For pneumonia a distinguished New York clinician declared, scarcely a generation ago, that if he were offered all the drugs in the pharmacopœia on the one hand without whiskey, and whiskey without the drugs on the other, he should prefer the whiskey, confident that it would save more patients for him and that indeed it represented our best standby in pneumonia. In the first half of the nineteenth century the same thing was felt with regard to the use of alcohol for tuberculosis, which was then even more fatal than it is at present.

Indeed whiskey, or some form of alcoholic liquor, was considered to have almost specific effects on respiratory affections. It was recommended for "colds" of various kinds—colds on the chest and colds in the head, and then, of course, for cold in the stomach. A combination of quinine and whiskey was supposed to be an almost infallible preventive of "colds," or at least sure to throttle a developing cold, if only taken in time. It is rather easy to understand where this tradition came from. "Colds" are little fevers, the great remedy for fever in general was alcohol, while quinine, because it broke up the fever in malaria, was supposed to be a wonderful febrifuge generally. Now we know that quinine only acts upon malaria and that by killing the plasmodium, and that when taken in the quantities often absorbed for breaking up a cold it always did harm rather than good. Between the two a great many people, who were really not developing colds at all, but who felt a little chilly or, perhaps, had sneezed a couple of times, made themselves ever so miserable for some days, but most of them had the serene confidence that they might have had a bad "cold" only for taking the prophylactic.

In June, 1917, the House of Delegates of the American Medical Association, representing nearly 100,000 American physicians, asked the profession not to use whiskey or

dilute alcohol as a remedy since there were other drugs that would secure the same effects much better and with less danger to the patient. That request represents the recognition in our time of the fact that alcohol is never a stimulant, but is always a narcotic. It makes people feel better, but does not do them physical good. Its favourable action is on the mind and not on the body. It makes the heart go faster, not by stimulating it, but by taking off the brake which regulates it, the governor (as it were) of this very efficient central engine of ours. It does not raise but lowers blood pressure. In most of the affections in which it was employed it probably did some slight physical harm, but this was, as a rule, more than made up for by its favourable psychic effect.

The most important element in the psychology of the use of alcohol is the power of the material to minimize or eliminate dreads and fears, fear-thoughts as they have been called, of various kinds, which often have a serious effect upon patients. In pneumonia, for instance, a man of middle age who discovers, even though he may not be told, that he has pneumonia, will recall friends and acquaintances who have died of the disease and will become *disheartened* from the fear of such a result in his own case. This dread literally affects the heart, and a pneumonia patient needs all his heart activity to enable him to push blood through a hepatized lung. He may actually scare himself to death, or at least make his case ever so much worse than it would have been. If such a patient be given alcohol, it brings on euphoria, that is a sense of well-being in which he does not mind so much what happens to him. That is an excellent mood in which to face the issue ; for at least it prevents hampering anxiety. Probably whatever good was noted from the use of whiskey in tuberculosis was due to the same thing. In this affection, however, the drug was dangerous because it had to be continued for so long that to produce effects

ever larger and larger quantities had to be used, the physical bad effects were consequently emphasized, a habit was produced, and the last state of the man was worse than the first. Probably the use of whiskey in snake bites meant nothing more than this lifting of the scare. Most snake bites, except the extremely poisonous varieties, are not fatal, though they may produce rather acute systemic disturbance for a time; but people bitten by snakes scare themselves to death or very near it, and, if only given enough alcohol, they become indifferent to the consequences.

The change that has come about in the use of whiskey and brandy in hospitals during the past generation is very striking. Fifty years ago the most important item of expenditure in the list of drugs for the patients was whiskey. It cost four times as much for whiskey as for milk, for instance. Now we have completely reversed that proportion, and, as a rule, at least five times as much money is spent for milk as for whiskey. The presence of whiskey in hospital wards two generations ago made for extremely unfortunate conditions among the nurses. Before the Crimean War all that anyone expected of a nurse was that she should be reasonably sober and have character enough not to be bribed to give more whiskey to the patients than was considered to be good for them; for there was always an abundance of it in the ward. There had to be, as it was prescribed for so many affections. At the present time a great deal more is spent on alcohol for preserving specimens than for saving patients, and the results of this modern usage of the material are generally agreed to be much more satisfactory than those derived from the old-fashioned employment of it on the living rather than on the dead.

The story of alcohol illustrates very well the whole history of the cures that have failed. The remedies have been materials that for some reason or other have produced a favourable effect upon the minds of the

patients, and it was because of this mental effect, and not because of any physical benefit, that the remedies secured their reputation. After a time, when people lost confidence in them, they failed any longer to produce a favourable mental effect, and then their usefulness was past. Very often then, as in the case of the alcoholic stimulants, it was discovered that the physical effect of the remedy had been harmful rather than beneficial, though this had been neutralized by the mental stimulation or by the removal of the dread which acted as a brake on human resistive vitality. A great many of the remedies that have been used successfully on the diseases of mankind have merely acted as mental releases of energies toward recovery. Nature can cure most of the diseases of mankind; but she must be free to exert her energies, and that is what disheartenment often prevents, setting brakes on resistive vitality and curative power.

New discoveries in science have nearly always been followed by the attempt to apply these new discoveries to medicine, and very often with reported wonderful results. The new discovery attracts attention, the patient's mind is aroused and does the rest. When the invention of the Leyden Jar, toward the end of the first half of the eighteenth century, made electricity readily available in effective amounts, that apparatus at once became a favourite remedy in the hands of a great many physicians. Almost needless to say the original Leyden Jar was a very small apparatus—we would think of it as scarcely more than a toy—and therefore it is all the more amazing to read of the effects produced by it. Pains and aches of long continuation, muscular disabilities that had existed sometimes for years, headaches and internal discomforts of many kinds were cured by means of these Leyden Jars, which were carried round Europe by pretenders of various kinds. There is no doubt at all that by its agency people were cured of affections from which they had despaired of ever securing relief.

One distinguished electro-therapeutist included in the list of affections that he was sure he had seen cured by the Leyden Jar "pulmonic fever," under which title practically all the more or less acute diseases of the chest were included and probably some also of the chronic, that is, tubercular pulmonary processes; "dropsy," by which is meant every effusion into the abdominal cavity no matter what its cause; "dysentery," under which was included at that time not only the specific dysenteries, but many of the Summer complaints and some of the fevers now included under the typhoid and paratyphoid groups; diarrhœa, including all the intestinal diseases not already grouped under dysentery; "putrid and bilious fever," under which category were assembled the worst cases of typhoid and undoubtedly many septic fevers consequent on internal conditions, typhus fever and all the other continued fevers for which no other term was in use. He claimed even that the epidemic diseases of small-pox, pest and anthrax, were greatly benefited by the Leyden Jar, while he was confident that cancer, gravel, diseases of the bladder, and even of the brain and spinal cord could be treated successfully with it.

No wonder that those who made such claims for a remedy and who saw (as they thought) its striking effects, felt that they should warn people not to abuse the remedy, or it would be to their peril. Some of the electro-therapeutists told stories of the evil effects of the Leyden Jar on themselves when they used it unwarrantably. Winckler of Leipzig said that the first time he tried the jar he found "great convulsions from it in his body; it put his blood into great agitation; he was afraid of an ardent fever and was obliged to use refrigerating medicine." On a later experience it sent a heaviness to his head as if a stone lay upon it. Twice it gave him a bleeding at the nose. His wife seems to have been particularly susceptible to it. After the second shock she could scarcely walk. And when a week later, her curiosity

stronger than her fears, she tried it once more, it caused her to bleed at the nose after taking it only once. Many men were terrified by the effects produced on them by the sparks of these little Leyden Jars. Even serious professors describe entirely imaginary symptoms.

Every advance in electricity has been followed by a similar diversion of it to therapeutics with reported marvellous curative results. Gordon of Erfurt is usually said to have made the first practical electrical machine. He used a cylinder of glass in order to produce frictional electricity, which he could thus obtain rather uniformly for experimental purposes. This too was used with great effect for the cure of all sorts of diseases—particularly the pains and aches and the chronic muscular disabilities of mankind. When the Voltaic pile was invented in 1800, it came to be used in medicine with wonderful results. Ordinarily it is assumed that the literature of electro-therapy is modern, or at least not more than a generation or two old. There was a great deal of it, however, well over a century ago, and the old-time electro-therapeutists were recording wonderful results with their old-fashioned baby apparatus and (as we would think) infinitesimal sources of electricity. Of course it was not the electricity that was producing good results, but a change that was induced in the patients themselves toward their affection. Electricity still continues in the hands of some to produce its marvellous effects, and our efficient modern apparatus might be presumed to be efficacious; but physicians generally are very much inclined to think that the principal action of electricity is still, as it was more than a century ago, not so much physical as mental. It makes excellent expectant treatment, occupying the patient's mind during the time which must elapse before cure can take place through the powers of nature. Electricity has proved ever so much more important in medicine for diagnostic than therapeutic purposes. During the war it proved very valuable in

the so-called " shell-shock " cases, being used to produce pain until some function over which will-power had been lost was called into action again as the result of the pain.

An unexpected development from the use of what was supposed to be electricity came as the result of Mesmer's work. The discoveries of Franklin and Galvani attracted wide popular attention, and electricity became a word to conjure with among the masses. Mesmer, who was a graduate of Vienna, assembled what was supposed to be an electrical apparatus. It consisted of a *baquet* or tub in which there were bottles containing metallic elements. Wires were conducted from these bottles around the room and distributed so as to be held in the hands of patients who sat around the *baquet*, thoroughly impressed by its intricacy during the therapeutic séance. After the patients' expectancy had been thoroughly aroused, the electricity presumably flowing into them until they might be assumed to be primed with it, Mesmer himself, dressed in a flowing Eastern gown, wearing a turban and carrying a wand, came into the room, touching the patients with the wand and producing very startling effects. Most of them became excited, some of them screamed, and some went into slight convulsions followed by a sort of sleep. Most of those who were thus deeply affected felt their ills fall from them, and after a few such therapeutic séances proclaimed themselves cured.

Mesmer became all the vogue in Paris. People flocked to him, not the ignorant, but, on the contrary, educated people. Above all, the very cream of Parisian society came under Mesmer's spell. People were drawn from the various cities of France and even from distant countries. Not a few of those who were cured by Mesmer had been under the treatment of some of the best known physicians of Europe without relief. He seemed to have actually discovered the secret of vitality. Electricity, as used by him, appeared to supply for vital force and nervous

energy, to renew youth and give new strength to those who had lost any of their bodily powers by disease.

Naturally all this attracted the attention of the authorities, and an investigation was ordered. It so happened that Benjamin Franklin was in Paris at the moment as minister from the colonies to the French court. As the greatest living discoverer in electricity he was asked to be one of the committee to investigate Mesmer's cures and to determine what electrical factors were at work in it. After the most careful investigation this committee decided that there was no electricity nor any other physical factor made use of in his apparatus. The effect was mental, not physical. Various apparatuses, resembling Mesmer's in certain regards and above all using some wonderful force supposed to be conducted out of iron filings along a wire, have been sold very largely in our generation on the strength of "cures" affected by them, though careful investigation made by scientists has revealed absolutely no affective agent of any kind present.

Mesmer was forbidden to continue his work in Paris, though a great many people were inclined to think that a man who was accomplishing so much good by curing people of long-standing ills ought to be encouraged in his great work and not prohibited from following it up. It was rather hard for many people to understand just why such a government regulation should be made, and there was even the feeling that there must be some professional jealousy in the matter. Quacks have at all times taken advantage of this tendency in mankind to secure exemption from government regulation, but Mesmer was compelled to retire, and died in obscurity years after in England.

Some of Mesmer's disciples had noted the curious sleep into which certain of the master's patients used to fall, though Mesmer himself gave no special attention to it, and they proceeded to experiment further with it. This led to the development of the first formal knowledge of hypnotism, which was called animal magnetism or

mesmerism. By the middle of the nineteenth century this attracted a good deal of attention. A series of exposures of imposture in connection with it, however, discredited it, though not until it had been used for the production of anaesthesia for minor surgical operations, so that when the first news of the use of ether in America for anaesthetic purposes came over to England it attracted less attention, it is said, than would have otherwise been the case because of the interest in the power of hypnotism in this regard.

Hypnotism was destined, however, to play a large role in therapeutics at the end of the nineteenth century. It attracted even more attention than did Mesmer's work a century before, and for a while it seemed as though this state of mind, so readily induced in a great many subjects, was going to be of paramount significance not only for therapeutics, but for psychology and for the study of the nervous system in its relation to the mind. The most striking cures made by it were of chronic pains and aches. Sciatica, lumbago and the like, which had been crippling people for years, yielded to hypnotism. This seemed to make it sure beyond all doubt that there was some great power at work. Many of these patients had been treated unsuccessfully by some of the most distinguished physicians in Europe. Once more " cures " led to entirely wrong conclusions.

The surprising thing for most people in these cases is that it is patients suffering from pain and disabilities of various kinds who chiefly proclaim themselves cured by these "cures that have failed." Pain is entirely a subjective feeling, depending on two elements : the irritation of the nerve and the reaction of the subject. When this reaction is exaggerated, a pain which in its physical character is only trivial may become a positive torment. Any discomfort much dwelt on is increased in significance, partly by the greater flow of blood to the part caused by attention and partly by the concentration of mind on it

which causes a larger number of nerve cells, that normally would be occupied with other things, to be put in connection with this sense of discomfort. Whenever any remedy occupies the patient's mind enough to neutralize this mental concentration, then pains and aches and disabilities of muscles become ever so much less ; and under exercise, proper nutrition and air they will often disappear. This is the secret of "the cures that have failed" in so far as they concern the pains and aches of mankind.

Now, a generation later, especially after the immense experience of the Great War in neurotic cases of all kinds (for " shell-shock " so-called was just major hysteria and was four times as common among the officers as among the private soldiers), we are better able than ever to recognize the place of hypnotism. It stands between ordinary sleep and somnambulism, is entirely subjective, that is nothing passes from the operator to the operated, and the best recent definition of it has been that it is induced hysteria.

Hypnotism is a typical example of the cures that have failed. Everyone realizes now that there is much more harm likely to result from it than good, though it may, under certain circumstances, so modify the patient's attitude of mind as to relieve symptoms for the time being. There has been a great come-down from the time when it was looked upon as the key that solved many mysteries to its present recognition as a mode of hysteria. Practically all of the symptoms which hypnotism cured represented states of mind, the effects of which were relieved by producing another state of mind, though often the last state of the man was worse than the first.

The idea that in our time the diffusion of education has made these " cures that fail " rarer than before is not founded on observations of present-day conditions. The ability to read has only made it possible for more people to receive suggestions, and besides there is a certain worship of print which makes many people feel

that whatever they see in print must be so. As a consequence we have to-day ever so many advertised remedies which sell well—otherwise, of course, they could not be advertised—and yet contain nothing or next to nothing that is of any pharmaceutic significance. Ordinary salt and water has been sold, under a high-sounding name, as a reducer of fat, and lots of money made on it. Before prohibition came in a great many of the tonics popularly sold in the United States were merely a little dilute alcohol. It was surprising how many testimonials could be obtained for these from judges, legislators, clergymen and others, who might be expected to have some sense. A whole series of tablets containing practically nothing but a little sugar of milk and a very minute portion of some simple drug, made a fortune of millions for a man who knew how to advertise them. It is not the inventor of the remedy who counts now, but the advertising manager of the business. The ingredient which is most efficient in these modern remedies is the printer's ink which produces its effect through the mind of the sufferers. Our generation is probably more susceptible than most of the generations of history; for we have our healers like Dowie, who claimed that he had cured many thousands of people; our healing systems, like Eddyism; our patent and proprietary medicines, which make millions; and each of our large cities supports a small army of quacks and charlatans, whose one idea is to exploit and not to cure humanity.

The key of the mystery is that, as the recent war experience with shell-shock and other conditions has shown very clearly, something like one in six of all those who present symptoms are only suffering from a mental persuasion. Often at the beginning of their affection there was a physical reason for their symptoms, but though that has disappeared they continue to foster their symptoms. There are a very large number of people who never get better of anything unless they are

cured. Some of them must have something impressive to " cure " them or (to use what I believe is an expression from Plato) they continue to enjoy bad health. They are the patients who wander from physician to physician, telling their friends how no one seems to be able to find out what is the matter with them. There is a very good reason for that. There is nothing the matter with them except in their minds. As a distinguished clinician once said, " it is much more difficult to cure a man who has nothing the matter with him, but thinks he has something the matter, than to cure one who has something very definite that you can get at." A great many of these affections are in connection with the stomach, and a witty French professor of medicine once declared that " there is only one thing in the world that is absolutely indigestible and that is the human mind. When that gets on the stomach it cannot be digested off, it must be lifted off." His American colleague from the West put the whole matter much more succinctly and probably more forcibly, with a touch of slang that makes it lively : " Most of the indigestion that I see is above the neck."

This chapter in therapeutics of the cures that have failed is the most important chapter in the history of medicine for many others besides physicians to know. It furnishes the background on which every announced modern advance in therapeutics must be viewed. It provides the criterion by which to appreciate what is happening round us. Above all, it calls attention to the extremely important role that the mind plays, both for good and for ill, in all affections of the body, real as well as imaginary, and brings back the realization of the power of spirit over matter, if only we permit spirit to act in the way that it should. The human will is still the most active therapeutic agent that we have. It can do more to prevent, to relieve and even to *cure* human affections than anything else.

JAMES J. WALSH.

UNPUBLISHED IRISH POEMS.

XIII.—Looking towards Spain.

EDITED BY PROFESSOR OSBORN BERGIN, PH.D

After the defeat at Kinsale O'Donnell sailed from Castlehaven on the 6th of January, 1602. He died of poison at Simancas on the 10th of September. This poem must have been written not long after he left Ireland. For the author see No. VI. of this series. With all his display of literary and antiquarian lore, a thing inseparable from his office, the poet is in dead earnest. He lets us feel the agony of suspense, the vain hopes and the well grounded fears with which the weary followers of O'Neill and O'Donnell looked towards Spain.

The poem is edited from 24 P 27 collated with 23 L 17, both in the Royal Irish Academy. L omits § 8 and combines the second half of § 20 with the opening of a different quatrain. Only important variants are given. In a few cases obvious misspellings have been silently corrected.

Eoghan Ruadh Mac an Bhaird, cc.

1. Rob soruidh t'eachtra, a[1] Aodh Ruaidh,
an Coimsidh do-chí ar n-anbhuain,
gabhaidh[2] sé t'innfheitheamh air,
go mbé ag rinnfheitheamh romhaibh.

2. Ná tí ribh, a rí Suca,
triall sonna i sín gheamhruta,
amuigh ón chuainsin Chliodhna,
tar muir nduaibhsigh ndoighiordha.

3. Dia dot eadráin san amsa
ar ghluasacht ngaoth ccodarsna,
ar ghoin n-ainchridhigh gach fhir,
's ar mhoir n-ainbhthinigh idir.

[1] *om* P [2] gabhadh L

4. Go ttréigitt a ttrealbha laoch
dea séite na síonghaoth ;
go ttille an ghaothmhuir a geóin,
nach saobhthuir inne an aecóir.

5. Go mbé an toice, a thriath Gaillmhe,
duitse ag crúdh gach comhairle ;
ná deach faoibh fréamh ar[1] ndoibheart,
rob sén daoibh do dheóraidheacht.

6. Rob suilbhir aghaidh gach fhir
róibhsi, a rí rátha Sligigh,
títhe orláir do ghruadh ngeal,
rob tuar soghráidh a silleadh.

7. Gibé rabh a rí Chonaill
i n-aincheas bhar n-urfhoghaill
go mbé a chroidhe gá chrúdh sin
le rún toile dot thuigsin.

8. Rob gar leigheas dar leónadh,
sgeóil dá ttiocfa ar ttaithbheódhadh,
go mbeid oraibh dá reic ruinn,
rob soraidh dheit gach dodhuing.

9. An énlong lér imthigh sibh,
na coill bhárc bhréideadh súaithnidh
go ttargha an luingsin tar lear,
go hadhbha ttuirsigh tTailltean.

10. Gá ttú acht as tingheall sláinte
do thoisg, nó as tuar anbhfáilte,
gibé thí do thaobh t'eachtra,
do shní, a Aodh, ar n-aigeanta.

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[1] bhur L

11. Na laoich, a llos a n-annsa,
na mná, na meic eaccalsa,
clanna ar saor, meic ar moghadh,
dheit, a Aodh, fá énomhan.

12. D'furtacht shleachta Gaoidhil Ghlais
tar muir[1] ón tráth do thriallais,
atáid croidhe sonn gá sníomh
le trom n-oire gach airdríogh.

13. Atáid m'ionnsamhla eile,
atúsa, a Aodh, d'áiridhe,
dom buing do bhithin t'eachtra
i ttuinn fhichidh mh'aigeanta.

14. Ní chorraigh muir nach measg sinn,
ní éir gaoth nach gluais mh'intinn,
ní aithrigh síon séis mbuinne
nach sníomh dot éis oruinne.

15. Ní hé aithbhear bhar n-olc féin,
ní hé ainbhthine an aeéir[2]
do chor ort budh urlamh[3] linn,
acht turbhadh d'olc na hEireann.

16. Inis Chuinn do chleacht leónadh,
gá ttám as dí theigeómhadh,
dá ttíste ruibh god rochtain
tar muir ngríste nguasachtaigh.

17. Do cuireadh clódh a teadhma
uaibhsi a n-ucht na cinneamhna,
do fhéch sibh[4] don chríchsi Chuinn,
dá ndigh díbhsi,[5] a Uí Dhomhnuill.

18. Mór dá haos cumtha ar cheana
do chuir a n-áit oidheadha
an bhréiginsi lér fhaoi Art,
ar aoi a héiginsi d'fhurtacht.

[1] tuinn L [2] aigéin L [3] urladh P [4] sibh do fhégh L [5] as lén díbhsi L

19. Iomdha imshníomh fhuair fá a ceann
Tuathal Tcachtmhar, triath Eireann,[1]
ar ttocht[2] tar muinchinn muire
d'oirchill a holc d'iomghuire.

20. Cuairt dar chosain a heineach
do-rad Conghal Cláireineach,
go ttug[3] glcó eidir ghleanntaibh tonn,
nár theó i tteanntaibh na tiomcholl.

21. Eoghan Mór mhac Mogha Néid,
do-chuaidh trá toisg a leithéitt,
don talamhsoin gar thriall sibh,
ó fhiadh fhalarsaidh Uisnigh.

22. Ríghe cogthach Chláir na Niall,
lingis Mac Con mac Maicniadh
rinn ghlasmhuire ar aba a huilc,
amhsoine as fhada iarmuirt.

23. Tusa, a rí fhréimhe hEachaidh,
ag triall ar iocht éineathair,
gé meastoir do thocht a tteann,
do dheasgaibh olc na hEireann.

24. Atá san luingsin tar lear
oireachas Insi Gaoidheal,
a síodh, a guaisbhearta, a glóir,
díon a huaisleachta, a honóir.

25. Go bhfille ar sliocht Gaoidhil Ghlais,
a mhic Aodha, a ua Mhaghnais,
rob dimbríogh gach tonn dá ttuil,
gach imshníomh sonn rob soruidh.

Rob soruidh.

[1] righ raoileann L [2] go tocht L. [3] tug (*om.* go) P

Translation.

1. Happy be thy journey, Aodh Ruadh! The Lord who seeth our distress, He taketh upon Him thy care, may He prepare thy way before thee.
2. May it not hurt thee, O King of the Suca,[1] to travel here in wintry weather, outside that Haven of Cliodhna,[2] over the gloomy raging sea.
3. God protect thee at this time from the motion of contrary winds, and from the cruel wound of every man, and from all stormy seas.
4. May the gods who blow blustering winds forsake their warlike apparel, may the windy sea change its uproar, that the nature of the air be not perverted.
5. O Prince of Galway, may fortune debate each counsel for thee; may not the root of our misdeeds assail thee, may thy exile be to thee a blessing.
6. May each man's face be cheerful before thee, O King of the Fortress of Sligo the lines[3] on the surface of thy bright cheeks—may the sight of them be a presage of love.
7. O King of Conall's race, whoever be in doubt of thy speech, may his heart be sifting it, with loving purpose to understand thee.
8. May healing be nigh unto our hurt; may tales that will bring us new life be told us of thee, may every hardship be easy to thee.
9. The single ship with which thou didst go, may that ship come over the sea as a forest of barks with splendid sails to the sorrowful land of Tailtiu.[4]
10. In short thy journey is a pledge of health or a presage of sickness; whatever comes of thy venture, O Aodh, it wrings our hearts.
11. Warriors, by reason of their love, women, clerics, the children of our nobles, the sons of our serfs, they are all united in fear for thee, Aodh.
12. Since thou hast gone over the sea to succour the race of Gaoidheal Glas, there are hearts here straining under the weight of each prince's burden.
13. There are others like me; I myself especially, O Aodh, am torn because of thy venture in the boiling wave of my mind.
14. The sea does not stir without bewildering me, the wind rises not but that my mind starts, the tempest does not alter the note of the stream without bringing anguish upon me, now thou art gone.
15. It is not complaint of thy own troubles, it is not thy constraint by the rude welkin, that would seem to me at hand, but ruin from the ills of Ireland.
16. Conn's Isle that hath been practised in suffering, it is she, in short, that would feel the blow, if thou shouldst be opposed in thy journey over the raging perilous sea.
17. The conquest of her disease has been put from thee into the lap of fate—thou hast cared for this land of Conn!—if thou fail, O'Donnell.
18. Many others of her lovers has this false Isle, spouse of Art, sent to a place of doom for helping her necessity.
19. Many a care on her account found Tuathal Teachtmhar,[5] leader of Ireland, when he had come over the surface of the sea in hope of righting (?) her wrongs.
20. A circuit whereby he defended her honour was made by Conghal Cláireineach,[6] so that he fought amid the wave-valleys a battle than which none about her was hotter.

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[1] The River Suck in Roscommon and Galway. [2] Glandore Harbour, Co. Cork.

[3] *tithe*, properly the lines on a draughtboard.

[4] The eponym of Teltown in Meath, site of the ancient Lammastide assembly.

[5] King of Ireland, A.D. 76 to 106, according to the Four Masters.

[6] Otherwise Conghal Cláiringneach, hero of the romance published by the Ir. Texts Soc., Vol. V.

21. Eoghan Mór, son of Mugh Néid, once went on such a venture to that land whither thou hast journeyed, from Uisneach's land of ancient quarrels (?).
22. The warlike kingdom of the Plain of the Nialls—Maicnia's son Mac Con[1] scaled the edge of the blue sea because of her wrongs, a campaign of lasting consequence.
23. Thou, O King of Eochaidh's line, art going at the mercy of one vessel (though we trust thou wilt come with power) by reason of Ireland's wrongs.
24. There are in that ship beyond the sea the sovranty of the Island of the Gaels, her peace, her perilous exploits, her glory, the defence of her nobility, her honour.
25. Mayest thou return to the race of Gaoidheal Glas, O son of Aodh, O grandson of Maghnus! may every wave that flows be weak, may every anxiety here be happy!

OSBORN BERGIN.

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[1] Victor in the battle of Mag Mucrime; see Rev. Celtique XIII.

TIR NA N-OG.

MEMORIES of voices silver-sweetly fall;
Dead dreams, dead hours wake as at trumpet call;
Old breezes blow; old scenes are stretching far—
Old hills, old skies, lost light of sun and star;
And mouldered blossoms bud again; and slow
Long-faded shadows to the eastward go.

Rose of the heart, I-Breasail shines once more;
Faint voices speak; we see the fairy shore
Of youth's dear land adrift on summer seas
Whose waters breathe eternal melodies.
Hark, and your soul may hear the ripples chime
Where Tir na n-Og awaits the end of time.

LOLA STEELE-NICHOLSON.

TO A PRISON VISITOR.

NOVEMBER in the prison! I am lonely
As only those can be whose all is dead:
One friend had I, one little lover only—
A sunbeam that, with light and airy tread
(All rules defying and all jailers scorning),
Climbed up the frowning wall and made its way
Into my cell one early summer morning,
And daily since had come—till yesterday.

. . . . .

What brought thee here, O messenger of laughter,
Dancing with airy feet for me in chains?—
Was it to tell of liberty hereafter
And life unfettered on my Munster plains?

From what fair hillside, fairy, wast thou straying?
Or wast thou born of some wild mountain rill?
Or did the mirth of children at their playing
Its echo send to bid me comfort still?

But now, alas! the darkened days I measure,
With never a gleam their mourning to relieve,
And gone from me is all my little treasure
Of silver at the dawn, and gold at eve.

The skies are grey and all the world is dreary,
The flowers dead that peeped amid the shard;
The sunlight gone that cheered my bondage weary,
And winter fallen on the prison yard.

Yet does my hope abide—I am a Gael,
And all my fathers suffered and were strong;
So will I trust in God that right prevail
And wait in patience through the winter long,

Knowing that He will send in His good time
To all poor prisoners the radiant spring,
And that again the splendid sun shall climb
To Freedom's zenith, darkness conquering.

Yet for that joy to come one crown I pray—
My little fairy love to find again :
On mountain-top, perchance, at dawn of day
Or deep in slumber in some Kerry glen.

ART O'RIAIN.

PATRIA.

MY eyes have ranged o'er Afric's blinding sand,
Her cloud-white mountains, her blue flame of sea.
Having you in my breast, what were to me
The sweet surprises of another land ?
True, my soul's homage goes to thee, dear Rome,
Whose altar feeds our Faith's undying fires,
Yet when we sing to God, our fond desires
Spring lark-like to His heart from the nest of Home.

The Palm, the Vine, the Rose, the quickening sun
Making earth smile and poets shape their dreams,
But win me back to Eire of the Streams ;
My vision of you ends where 'twas begun,

O image of the Mother-land above,
Our Sion, in the ocean crystalline,
Where the emerald rainbow rings the Throne Divine,
And Love His lover's hunger fills with love !

GEORGE NOBLE PLUNKETT.

EPIPHANYTIDE, 1921.

LO: with Epiphany the dawn of spring!
The ground with tender golden aconite—
(Aloof on topmost bough the stormcocks sing)—
The barren ground is sudden starr'd with light.

By wayside banks peeps shyly here and there,
With her pale gleam, the little celandine;
The spring comes silent-flooding everywhere;
The purple woods her far approach divine.

Ah! may she 'stablish this her conquest fast,
And winter's iron empire overthrow;
And oh! this very year may spring at last
See Erin rescued from her age-long woe.

See Erin freed, Erin a gracious queen
Ruling her land in radiant majesty,
Mother of saint and scholar, fair, serene,
More glorious from her searing agony.

Mother of martyrs, mother of my heart,
Mother of courtesy and comely speech,
At last the world shall know thee as thou art,
At last the world shall learn and thou shalt teach.

How royal is thy sons' humility,
How vile the pride and power thy foes ador'd!
Thy children's Faith alone is victory,
The lives they lose live ever in the Lord.

H. E. G. Rope.

PALESTINIAN CUSTOMS AS ILLUSTRATING THE BIBLE.

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Part V.[1]

IN our last article we visited the Palestinian in his home and endeavoured, by a fairly thorough inspection of the modern peasant's house, to illustrate and explain a number of Biblical passages. With the same end in view we shall now accompany him in his travels, noting the special difficulties he meets with and the means he has at his disposal to overcome them.

Travelling in the east is much more wearisome and dangerous than in civilised western countries. Of course the recent introduction of the railway into Palestine allows one to accomplish some trips between the larger cities with comparative ease and safety. But most travelling must still be done under many of the conditions and with many of the risks enumerated as personal experiences by the great Apostle of the Gentiles. St. Paul describes himself as "in journeyings often, in perils of water, in perils of robbers, in perils from my own nation, in perils from the Gentiles, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea, in perils from false brethren. In labour and painfulness, in much watchings, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakedness."[2] But this is the dark side of the picture. Against it must be set the kindly greetings and lavish hospitality, which rarely fail to cheer the eastern traveller and facilitate his journey.

The first great difficulty of travel in modern Palestine is the condition of the lines of communication, which

[1] For Parts I, II, III, IV see the issues of Sept. (1919), March, Sept., and Dec. (1920).

[2] 2 Cor. xi., 26-27.

we can only by courtesy, in most cases, call roads or paths. Carriage roads are very limited and of quite recent construction. The chief ones are those which connect Jerusalem with Jaffa in the west, Jericho in the east, Nablus in the north and Hebron in the south. Such roads are neither as level nor as clearly defined nor as regularly repaired as our ordinary roads. In the comparatively good road from Beyrouth to Damascus I once saw half-a-dozen mules striving in vain to draw a carriage out of a mud hole. In the plains earth is the readiest material for repair and, though it does very well in dry weather, it only makes matters much worse when the rains come down. The Ottoman government, which only recently took some interest in road building, did not encourage private initiative in this respect. European colonists have sometimes made roads for themselves, but instead of being subsidised by the state they have had to pay well for the permission to build.

Milestones and other vestiges of the magnificent Roman roads, built all over the country by the Antonines, are still to be seen in Palestine. Neither was Israelitic Palestine entirely without practicable roads. The Israelites, for instance, were ordered to make roads to the cities of refuge.[1] We read of high-roads leading to the cities of Geba and Bethel in the time of the Judges.[2] The ark of the covenant was brought in a cart drawn by oxen along the road leading from the Philistine plain through the Valley of Sorek to Bethshemesh.[3] The frequent mention of chariots from Solomon's time onwards does not necessarily imply that roads were plentiful, for the chariots ran in open country and even in the mountains of Carmel and Gilboa.[4] We may well believe, however, that in ancient as in modern times the few existing roads were not always regularly and carefully repaired. Hence, then as now, it was customary to put

[1] Deut. xix., 3. [2] Judges xx., 31. [3] 1 Sam. vi., 12.
[4] 1 Kings xviii., 44-6; 2 Sam. i., 6.

damaged roads in temporary order or build new ones for the reception of an illustrious visitor.

When the Kaiser visited Palestine in 1898, he was honoured by the construction of new roads in many places where he was expected to pass. Roads were built, for instance, from Nazareth to Mount Thabor, from Jerusalem to the top of Mount Olivet and to Mar Saba, from Gerash northwards towards Damascus. G. A. Smith tells us that he himself saw similar preparations made for the visit of the Khedive Tewfik to Siout in Upper Egypt in 1880.[1] This is the practice the prophet Isaias alludes to, when he describes the preparations for the coming of the Messiah: "Prepare ye in the desert the way of the Lord, make straight in the wilderness the paths of our God. Every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low, and the steep ground shall become level, and the rough ways plain." [2]

Another practice, associated with the travels of high officials in the east, is the presence of a servant in uniform who walks or runs in front of his master, clearing the way with voice or rod. Two such precursors are always to be seen racing in front of the carriage of the Khedive. They inevitably remind us of the servant appointed by Pharaoh nearly four thousand years ago to run before Joseph's chariot and call upon the people to do him honour.[3] Such a precursor, too, was Elias, as he ran before Achab's chariot from Carmel to Jezreel.[4] And in the New Testament it was the office of St. John the Baptist, as Christ's precursor, to precede him and prepare his way.[5]

As Palestine is a very hilly country, and as its deserts are not sandy but stony, the paths of the traveller are rough and steep, often hard to discover, and generally encumbered with stones and rubble. It is easy to stumble in these rugged ways. Sometimes too the path is only

[1] *Historical Geography of the Holy Land* (12 ed. 1906), p. 668.
Isaias xl., 3-4. [3] Gen. xli., 43. [4] 1 Kings xviii., 46. [5] John i., 23.

marked out by occasional stone-heaps—a very inadequate means of keeping the traveller from going astray and perhaps finding himself on the brink of a precipice, where it may be equally dangerous to advance or to retreat. These difficulties and the need of divine help to overcome them are frequently referred to in Holy Scripture. "Prepare ye the way of the people, make the road plain, pick out the stones," says the prophet Isaias.[1] And the Psalmist declares: "He hath given his angels charge over thee, to keep thee in all thy ways. In their hands they shall bear thee up: lest thou dash thy foot against a stone."[2] Such too is the aid which Almighty God promises to the returning exiles by the prophet Jeremias: "I will bring them to the torrents of water by a straight way in which they shall not stumble."[3] This passage naturally leads us to the second great difficulty of the eastern traveller, the water-supply.

The Palestinian year has only two seasons, the wet and the dry, which last respectively from the middle of October to the middle of April, and from the middle of April to the middle of October. The identification of winter with the rainy season appears from the parallelism in the following verse of the Canticle of Canticles: "Lo! the winter is past, the rain is over and gone."[4] The chief downpour takes place in the months of December, January and February. But this is scarcely mentioned in Scripture owing to the special importance of the early and later rains, that is to say, the heavy showers which fall in October-November and March-April. The former loosens the land for ploughing and thus begins the agricultural year. The latter supplies the immediate and indispensable provision against the long summer drought. These rains are precarious, and the entire or partial failure of the one or the other is only too likely to result in famine or pestilence. The importance of this fact for the religious life of ancient

[1] Isaias lxii., 10. [2] Ps. xc., 11-12. [3] Jer. xxxi., 9. [4] Cant. ii., 11.

Israel appears clearly from several passages in the Old Testament. It made the people realise the existence of a Divine Providence, which was to reward their fidelity and punish their rebellion by giving or withholding, according to their merits, that most blessed gift of rain from heaven.

We can now appreciate the following passage from the book of Deuteronomy in which Palestine is contrasted with Egypt. The Egyptian cultivator depended on the regular inundation of the Nile, the Palestinian on the heaven-sent rain. "For the land, which thou goest to possess, is not like the land of Egypt from which thou camest out, where, when thou sowed'st the seed, thou watered'st it with thy foot[1] like a garden of herbs. But the land, which thou dost cross over to possess, is a land of hills and valleys, of the rain of heaven it drinketh water: a land which Jahweh thy God looketh after: continually are the eyes of Jahweh thy God upon it from the beginning of the year even to the end of the year."[2] Then follows the divine promise if Israel is faithful: "I will give rain to thy land in due season, the early rain and the latter rain, that thou may'st gather in thy corn and thy wine and thy oil;"[3] and the threatened chastisement of infidelity: "The wrath of Jahweh shall be enkindled against you, and he shall shut up the heaven that there be no rain and the earth yield not her fruit, and ye perish quickly off the good land which Jahweh is giving you."[4]

It is because water in Palestine is the highest good, the fountain of earthly life for man and beast, that it is used in Holy Scripture to designate the source of our spiritual life, Almighty God Himself, and that supernatural grace by means of which He communicates Himself to us. "As the hart panteth for the streams of water," says the Psalmist, "so doth my soul thirst for thee,

[1] Sometimes in Egypt the irrigation channels are only separated from the water supply by a mound of earth, which is moved aside with the naked foot when the time comes for letting the water into the field.

[2] Deut. xi., 10-12. [3] v. 14. [4] v. 17.

O God ; "[1] for, as he says elsewhere, " with Thee is the fountain of life."[2] Isaias uses the same figure to depict the happiness of the Messianic age. " Ye shall draw water with joy from the fountains of salvation."[3] And Our Lord tells us in the Gospel of St. John : " He that shall drink of the water that I will give shall not thirst for ever. But the water that I will give shall become in him a fountain of life springing up into life everlasting."[4] The prophet Jeremias contrasts this eternal source of heavenly good with the vain satisfactions of earth when he says : " My people have done two evils. They have forsaken me, the fountain of living water, and have digged to themselves cisterns, broken cisterns, that hold no water."[5] What are these cisterns alluded to by the prophet ?

As springs are rare in many parts of Palestine, and quite especially in Judea, means must be found to preserve a portion of the winter rains during the long summer months. For this purpose deep pits, sometimes round, sometimes rectangular in shape, are hewn out of the rock or dug into the earth. The latter kind easily develop fissures in the sides through which the water is lost. These are the " broken cisterns that hold no water." The defect, however, is usually obviated to a great degree by providing them with walls of stone and mortar. The rain-water does not become stagnant in these tanks, but, dropping its impurities to the bottom, remains fresh and tasty throughout the summer. The cisterns are covered with a round stone,[6] or more generally in modern times with an iron plate, on which channels are hollowed out to convey the water to the hole in the centre. The cover is necessary to keep the water pure and to prevent such accidents as Our Lord referred to when he asked the Pharisees : " Which of you shall have an ass or an ox fall into a pit and will not immediately draw him out on

[1] Ps. xli., 2. [2] Ps xxxv, 10. [3] Isaias xii., 3.
[4] John iv., 13-14. [5] Jer. ii., 13. [6] Gen. xxix., 2.

the sabbath-day?"[1] In such a cistern were David's spies concealed from their pursuers,[2] was the prophet Jeremias imprisoned,[3] and was Joseph stowed away by his brothers.[4] In most parts of Palestine every house has one or more cisterns, and the sites of ancient and long deserted villages may be often recognised by groups of these receptacles excavated in the rock. Perhaps the most famous of these ancient cisterns is Jacob's well, where Our Lord rested and conversed with the Samaritan woman.[5] It is still shown a little outside the town of Sichem, the modern Nablus. It is circular in shape, about twenty-five yards deep and more than six yards in circumference. But its water is no longer drinkable and often fails in summer, so that the custodian, a Greek monk, in his eagerness to satisfy the pious Russian pilgrims, is obliged to pour in a supply during the night that they may have something to draw from next day.

Of course the cisterns can be dispensed with when a village, like Nazareth for instance, possesses a good spring of perennial water, whence the women at sunset bear on their heads enormous pitchers of the precious liquid to their several homes. Some pious souls like to imagine that Joseph, to spare our Blessed Lady, charged himself with this heavy task. But it is most unlikely that the Blessed Virgin would have permitted the holy Patriarch to make himself so singular. The fact that water-carrying for the household was not man's but woman's work in ancient as in modern Palestine helps us to realise the significance of Our Lord's words to Peter and John when they asked him where they were to prepare for the last paschal meal: "Behold, as you go into the city, there shall meet you a man carrying a pitcher of water: follow him into the house where he entereth in."[6] The sight of a man carrying a pitcher of water is so rare in Palestine that what might seem to us a very vague

[1] Luke xiv., 5. [2] 2 Sam. xvii., 18. [3] Jer. xxxvii., 6.
[4] Gen. xxxvii., 24. [5] John iv., 6 sq. [6] Mark xiv. 13; Luke xxii., 10.

indication was to the disciples a most definite and distinctive sign.

What is a general difficulty for the Palestinian in the summertime is a very particular one for the traveller. Hence the gratitude of Israel for having been preserved during the wanderings in the desert after the flight from Egypt manifests itself especially in allusions to the miraculous provision of water: "They thirsted not in the desert when He led them out: He brought forth water out of the rock for them; He clove the rock and the waters gushed out."[1] When several travel together the guide must above all be one who knows where water is to be found. Such a guide is Our Lord in the journey through life, for we read in the Apocalypse that "the Lamb . . . shall lead them to the fountains of the waters of life."[2] Pitiable is the plight of the travellers if the spring on which they relied, as not unfrequently happens, is found to be dried up. This occurrence suggests to the prophet Isaias his description of the charitable man: "Thou shalt be like a watered garden and like a fountain of water whose streams shall not fail."[3] How well too did his Palestinian hearers realise the meaning of these words of Christ, in which he evidently alluded to the apostolic journeyings of his disciples: "For whosoever shall give you to drink a cup of water in my name, because you belong to Christ: amen I say to you, he shall not lose his reward."[4] The reference is not to the easiest act of charity imaginable, but to the one that made a special appeal to his countrymen, who could appreciate its value from personal experience. A cup of water cost two pence even in the beginning of the summer of 1907 at Jerusalem, and there was a failure in the harvest that year owing to the scarcity of the previous winter rains. In 1904 a family in the same city, whose cistern dried up too soon, had to spend four hundred francs for their water supply. At present, however, owing to the recent

[1] Isaias xlviii., 21. [2] Apoc. vii., 17. [3] Isaias lviii., 11. [4] Mark ix., 40.

operations of the British military engineers, the city is abundantly provided with good water.

A further difficulty for the traveller in Palestine springs from the insecurity of the country and the consequent risk he runs of being robbed and even murdered in the course of his journey. Of course these crimes are not peculiar to the east, especially at the present time; but they have always been endemic there, the natural fruits of cupidity and misrule. In the Old Testament we read of robber bands that lay in wait for passers-by in the neighbourhood of Sichem.[1] The village of Lifta, the ancient Nephtoah, about two miles north-west of Jerusalem on the Jaffa road, is famous for its robbers at the present day. Still more famous a century ago was Kiryath-el-enab, the ancient Kiryathyearim, on the same road but more to the west. It still preserves in the name Abu Gosh the memory of its ancient robber chief, but its present inhabitants are peaceful and law-abiding. Our Lord has revealed to us in the parable of the Good Samaritan[2] the dangers of a journey through the desert of Juda from Jerusalem to Jericho. The unfortunate traveller was robbed of all he had, including his clothes, and left wounded on the road-side. The same district has an equally bad reputation to-day. We choose the following instance as an illustration of this, because it has the additional advantage of acquainting us with a peculiar trait of eastern psychology, which appears in another Biblical narrative.

A young German Protestant of a rather exalted type of spirituality was travelling alone some years ago from Jerusalem to the Dead Sea when he fell in with a band of Bedouins, who at once accosted him with their customary cry of "shallih" or "strip." As he offered no resistance they soon possessed themselves of all he had and left him naked in the desert. The youth, nothing daunted and trusting in Divine Providence, merely

[1] Judges ix., 25; Osee vi., 9. [2] Luke x., 30-37.

continued his journey singing hymns. The Bedouins at once became alarmed and after a short consultation hastened to overtake their victim and restored to him all they had taken with profuse apologies and many signs of respect. It was not admiration of his courage that impelled them to give up their spoils, but superstitious fear. They believed him to be a lunatic and therefore not to be molested, because as such he was under God's special protection.[1] The stratagem by which David, after slaying so many Philistines, escaped death at the hands of Achis, King of Geth, was founded on the same belief. "He feigned himself mad before their eyes and behaved like a lunatic in their hands, stumbling against the doors of the gate and letting his spittle run down upon his beard. And Achis said to his servants: You see the man is mad: why bring you him to me? Have we need of madmen that you have brought in this fellow to play the madman in my presence? Shall this fellow come into my house?" [2]

The usual method however of avoiding robbery in travelling through Bedouin territory is to negotiate beforehand with the chief of the tribe and purchase the right of passage. The traveller is then accompanied by a tribesman and is secure of all danger, as the chief holds himself bound to obtain reparation for any losses incurred in traversing his district. Such an obligation also arises from the mere grant of hospitality to the stranger. Once the latter has accomplished the sacred rite of partaking of the chief's bread and salt, his person and his belongings are sacred and free from all molestation. Firearms are more useful to the traveller as a deterrent than as a defence. If he happen to kill one of his assailants he incurs a blood-feud with the tribe, which is almost sure to end in his own death or in that of one of his companions or countrymen.

[1] The anecdote is taken from O. Eberhard, *Einst und Jetzt im Heiligen Lande*, Gütersloh, 1909, p. 23.

[2] 1 Sam. xxi., 13-15.

We have now to consider how the traveller provides against the difficulties and dangers of his journey. There is one episode in the gospels which is very enlightening in this respect. When Our Lord sent forth the twelve Apostles on their first mission he gave them the following instructions : " Do not possess gold nor silver nor money in your girdles : Nor scrip for your journey, nor two coats, nor shoes, nor a staff."[1] This is St. Matthew's account, and St. Luke's is quite similar : " Take nothing for your journey ; neither staff nor scrip nor bread nor money ; neither have two coats."[2] The introductory words, " take nothing for your journey," show that Our Lord here forbids His Apostles to make the preparations for a journey which are customary in the east, primarily as an exercise of evangelical renunciation and confidence in Divine Providence, and secondarily because those who were to receive their spiritual ministrations were expected to supply in return their corporal needs. Then follows an enumeration of these preparations, which correspond exactly with those usually made by the modern traveller in Palestine against the difficulties of the road.

No traveller will set out without *zad* or food for the journey. Of course he may expect to be hospitably received and kindly treated in the villages through which he passes. But even so he would consider himself wanting in self-respect if he relied on hospitality alone. And when his host receives him at table the traveller will at once produce his own food to show his independence, but will then be emphatically dissuaded by his host from partaking of it under his hospitable roof. The Levite in the Book of Judges, who with his wife and servant sought a night's hospitality at Gabaa Benjamin on his return journey from Bethlehem to Mount Ephraim, had brought his own provisions with him : " We have straw and other provender for our asses ; and we have bread and wine

[1] Matt. x., 9-10. [2] Luke ix., 3.

for myself and for thy handmaid and for the boy who is with thy servant; nothing is wanting."[1] Similarly the Gabaonites provisioned themselves with bread and wine on their journey to Joshua, making him believe that they had come a very long way by having wine-bottles that were rent and burst and loaves that were dry and broken in pieces.[2] Thin loaves, which easily become dried up and crumby in the heat, are the chief provision of the eastern traveller to-day and are carried in a leathern bag or wallet—the "scrip" of the Gospel. To these he may add boiled eggs, cheese, olives, preserved figs and the like, but rarely wine, which is not now so common as it once was in Palestine.

The traveller needs money to pay for his night's shelter in the khans, to purchase or offer to purchase food, to hire guides or means of conveyance. This he carries in his girdle, a stout woollen or cotton belt worn underneath the sash or cincture. The belt is about five feet long and is so arranged that the inner part, which is double, is first fastened securely around the waist by a short leathern buckle, and then the outer part, which is single, is wound over it. The two folds of the inner part are very securely sewn together at the edge, thus providing a receptacle for money, which is passed in through a small opening near the buckle. The outer part then serves to cover and close this opening. Money thus carried cannot be stolen until the bearer is first completely overpowered. This mode of carrying money is so universal in the east that the usual way of inquiring about a man's finances in Syria is to ask how is his *kummer* or girdle. That it was equally common in Our Lord's time we know from St. Matthew [3] and St. Mark,[4] though this fact is obscured for many readers of the Douay version, where the Greek ζώνη, Latin *zona*, is rendered "purse" instead of "girdle."

The girdle also serves another purpose in travelling.

[1] Judges xix., 19. [2] Josue ix., 4-5. [3] Matt. x., 9. [4] Mark vi., 8.

The tunic worn by the Eastern peasant is very wide and full and reaches to the ankles. When he girds his loins in preparation for work or travel he takes up the extremities of this tunic at the front and tucks them into the girdle, thus leaving the legs bare and unimpeded from the knee downwards. Hence Our Lord's command, "Have your loins girt,"[1] means "Be ready for work." But the same injunction to the Israelites at the first Passover meant that they were to be ready for the long journey from Egypt to the land of promise: "And thus shall you eat it: with your loins girt, your shoes on your feet and your staff in your hand."[2]

The staff as a companion on the road is not, of course, peculiar to the east. But it is so necessary for and so associated with travel there that the Arabic expression, "We laid down the staff," means "We ended our journey." It is needed for support and defence in a country where hills have frequently to be climbed, streams crossed and wild beasts or robbers encountered. The staff moreover has another scriptural and eastern signification which may be noted here. It is the badge of office spiritual or temporal.

The modern Bedouin sheikh is often seen leaning on a staff which he holds in his hand. This rough undressed bough of a tree has been carried by his father before him and will be carried by his son and heir when he dies, for it is the hereditary badge of office.[3] Similarly the Mohammedan religious teachers carry a staff in public on important occasions to mark their spiritual dignity. We have most probably an allusion to the patriarchal staff of Jacob in a passage of Genesis where it is said "Israel bowed down in adoration on the top of the staff."[4] The Hebrew text, which we read in the Vulgate version, by a different vocalisation of the last word, "staff," makes it

[1] Luke xii., 35. [2] Exodus xii., 11.

[3] cf. R. W. Stewart, *The Tent and the Khan* (Edinburgh, 1857), p. 63, for an instance, and note how staff designates authority in Judges v., 14; Isaias xiv., 5; Amos i., 5, etc. [4] Gen. xlvii., 31.

mean "couch" or "bed." But St. Paul, citing the passage in the Epistle to the Hebrews,[1] follows the Septuagint vocalisation and reads "staff," though the vulgate rendering of the Greek "adored the top of his rod" instead of "adored on the top of his rod" is open to objection. The meaning is that Jacob adored God, bowing down over the top of the patriarchal staff on which he supported himself. Aaron's rod, which played so prominent a part in the miracles wrought in Egypt [2] and in the victory over the Amalekites,[3] and which finally blossomed in confirmation of Aaron's right to the priesthood while the rods of the twelve princes of the tribes underwent no change,[4] was clearly the outward mark of his spiritual dignity. The same symbol of the rod represents the spiritual and temporal dignities combined in the person of the Messiah, priest and king, in the hundred and ninth psalm: "Jahweh shall send forth thy mighty rod (virgam virtutis tuae) from Sion; rule thou in the midst of thy enemies . . . . Jahweh hath sworn and He will not repent: Thou art a priest for ever according to the order of Melchisedech."[5]

The Apostles were also forbidden to carry a second coat or tunic. This would be particularly useful as a covering at night, for travellers are expected to provide their own bed-clothes. Nor were they to wear shoes, perhaps the rude uncoloured or red-coloured leather ones, pointed and turned up at the toes, which the modern Palestinian peasant sometimes wears on his feet and sometimes carries in his hand on his travels. Possibly, however, sandals were the foot-wear referred to. These are stout soles of leather, bound to the foot by a thong which passes over the instep, then along the centre of the foot and between the great toe and the second toe, until it reaches a leathern button in the sole to which it is fastened. The poorer peasants as well as the

[1] Hebr. xi., 21. [2] Exodus iv., 17.
[3] *Ibidem* xvii., 9. [4] Num. xvii., 1-10. [5] Ps. cix., 2, 4.

Bedouins wear sandals in the east at the present day. And it is certain that St. Peter wore them later on, for he was told by the angel who released him from the prison of King Herod: "Gird thyself and tie on thy sandals."[1] The difficulty in deciding that sandals were meant in the present case springs from the fact that St. Mark expressly allows the Apostles to wear sandals[2] while St. Matthew forbids them to wear ὑποδήματα, a more generic term, which might mean either shoes or sandals. On the other hand St. Mark allows them a staff which St. Matthew and St. Luke forbid, so that it is not easy to establish a verbal harmony between the Synoptics in these passages. It is sufficient for our purpose, however, to remark with Frs. Cornely and Knabenbauer that the evangelists do not pretend to give always the exact words used by Our Lord, but rather their general sense, the teaching they are meant to convey. Here as elsewhere they are in perfect agreement as to Our Lord's meaning—the practice of all possible renunciation—though they may differ with regard to the verbal form under which it is expressed. If we consider moreover that Our Lord in this case spoke proverbially, meaning his words to be taken according to the spirit rather than according to the letter, as when He ordered whosoever was struck on one cheek to turn the other[3] and whosoever had his coat snatched away to give also his cloak,[4] we shall be inclined to conclude that St. Matthew and St. Luke kept closer to the original form of the words, which St. Mark varied a little that their real meaning might be more exactly understood by the western readers for whom his gospel was intended.

Our traveller is now ready for the road. We must leave, however, to our next article a description of the kindly greetings and generous hospitality which help to smooth his rough path and console him in his troubles.

EDMOND POWER.

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[1] Acts xii., 8. [2] Mark vi., 9. [3] Matt. v., 39. [4] *ib.* 40.

RETREATS FOR WORKING-MEN.

BY CHARLES PLATER, S.J., M.A.

[*Since the following article was written it has become our painful duty to record the death of the author. Father Plater died on January 21st from an attack of angina pectoris. Few men have crowded so much valuable work into their lives, and yet he died at the comparatively early age of forty-five. In the field of social action his death is an irreparable loss. The Catholic Church in England has every reason to mourn over the grave of this remarkable priest, a pioneer in many movements and the writer of many books.*—EDITOR.]

It is sometimes assumed that retreats for workers are a fantastic novelty. Nothing of the kind. To go no further back, we read how in the seventeenth century St. Vincent de Paul attracted men of all classes in vast numbers to his retreat-house at St. Lazare, which he called his Noah's Ark, and how he gave up his own room rather than turn away the overflow of retreatants; and how twenty thousand men made retreats in that house alone. We read of the wonderful retreats in Brittany in the same century, to which, indeed, a modern French bishop has ascribed the steadfastness of the faith of the Breton peasant to-day. In the following century St. Alphonso de' Liguori organized wonderful retreats for men at Ciorani, which was rivalled in zeal by the other Redemptorist houses. Few pages of the history of the Church are more consoling than those which describe the marvellous flame of faith and devotion which swept over the world in the wake of these retreats. The story cannot be repeated here.[1]

The modern revival of popular retreats started in France forty years ago, when my dear old friend, Père

[1] See my *Retreats for the People*, Sands & Co., 5*s*.

Watrigant, set himself, in spite of incredible obstacles and at what seemed a singularly unpropitious moment, to establish houses of retreats for men in the north of France. By faith and prayer he achieved what seemed the impossible.

Ten years later the movement spread to Belgium as the result of a hint dropped at a Belgian Catholic Congress by a French manufacturer:—

"If you want apostles, get men to make retreats."

Since then the movement has spread all over the world. It has reached Italy, Spain and Holland, Germany and Austria, England and Scotland, America, Canada, Australia, Africa and China.

I will just briefly indicate the extent of the work in England to-day so far as I have seen it. I will speak only of retreats for men (mainly working-men): the retreats for women and children have been no less successful, but cannot be described here.

I have given a large number of retreats in three retreat houses reserved exclusively for men, near Manchester, Newcastle and London respectively. Also in establishments used occasionally for that purpose, such as Oscott College, Penryn (a convent in Birmingham), New Hall Convent (Essex), St. Charles, Begbroke and Campion Hall, Oxford. But this does not exhaust the list of regular retreat-houses for men or of establishments where men's retreats are occasionally given.

A few figures will indicate the popularity of these retreats. In four years at Birmingham, though there was no regular men's house, retreats were given to about eleven hundred men and boys. During the past year about eight hundred men have made retreats at Oakwood Hall, near Manchester, and about the same number at the Tyneside house. At Glasgow this figure is exceeded.

But what is a retreat-house like, and what happens at a retreat?

Let us take for an example the house near Manchester

—Oakwood Hall, Romiley. This house is entirely devoted to men's retreats, which take place every week during the greater part of the year. It is a spacious mansion standing in fifty acres of beautiful grounds, which extend along the top of a hill and command a fine view of the valley beneath. Besides the handsome chapel, large dining-room and recreation rooms, there are a number of little bedrooms, allowing fifty men to make a retreat together. Retreat-houses are, and should be, pleasant and attractive. The men are well-fed and are made comfortable. They have space for solitude and privacy.

Many of these retreats last just for the week-end, the men coming on the Saturday afternoon and leaving early on the Monday morning. In other cases the men remain in retreat for three full days (four nights). The longer retreat is much to be preferred if it can be managed. Many men cannot spare three days, and a short week-end is, of course, much better than nothing. But it really takes a day for the men to settle down and become accustomed to the retreat atmosphere; and one feels in these short retreats that the men are only beginning to "bite" just when it is time for them to leave. They realize this themselves, and the general verdict on the week-end retreat is that it is "too short."

Out of the thousands of men who have made retreats I have never met one who regretted it. Indeed I have never met one who failed to say that the days of retreat were among the happiest he had ever spent. "I would not have missed it for the world," "I will certainly, please God, come back next year," "I could not have believed such places were possible," "It was a little bit of Heaven," "Why does not everybody know about it: everybody would come"—that is the way men talk after a retreat.

The change in them is very noticeable. If they have never made retreats before, they arrive at the retreat-house looking awkward and shy, not knowing what they

are in for, obviously feeling uncomfortable. By the end of the retreat they are one happy family, full of interest in the place, full of zeal and enthusiasm. They have come out of their shells and lost all their shyness.

They are bubbling over with schemes and plans for promoting the knowledge of their holy faith, for leading men to know and serve God. They have lost that dreadful disease which hinders so many from expressing the faith that is in them: I mean *human respect.* They have become really proud of their religion, and ready to profess it fearlessly. They are prepared not merely to express their faith in words and make it known that they are Catholics, but to translate it into daily action, to live up to it, to use their heads and find out ways of making it known and esteemed by others. They become apostles, full of initiative and not waiting to be pushed to Mass and the Sacraments, or urged to support Catholic work. They are on the look-out for ways of sanctifying their own souls and saving the souls of others. They have, as a priest said to me, "inside works of their own," a *vital interest* in their faith and all that concerns it.

But how are the days spent in retreat? We have only to glance at the printed "Order of the Day" in any of the Retreat-houses to see that at least the days are not spent in idleness. The men are kept on the move. A specimen day might be as follows:—

They rise, perhaps, at 6.30. Mass is followed by breakfast and a short recreation. Then an instruction in the chapel, meditation. Rosary in the grounds. Another instruction in the chapel. Spiritual reading. This brings us to dinner at one. After dinner, recreation till three Visit to the chapel. Stations of the Cross. Free time in the grounds. A third instruction. Tea at 4.30. Rosary. Spiritual reading. Fourth instruction. Benediction. Supper. Recreation. Night prayers. A fifth (short) instruction in the chapel. Lights out by 10.

Will men really listen to five sermons a day and a

variety of devotional exercises wedged in between them? The answer is that these "instructions" (or "meditations" on "points") are *not* sermons but intimate familiar talks which aim at getting the men to use their own minds and to *preach to themselves*, a very different matter. They are followed by a short period of real *meditation*, in which the men think out for themselves the great truths which have just been expounded, and apply them in a practical fashion to their own lives. The idea is explained to them and they quickly take it up. For the first time in their lives, perhaps, they give a *real* and not merely a *notional* assent to the doctrines of the faith. What seemed so familiar to them suddenly becomes new and startling. The truths which they took for granted suddenly blaze with meaning and interest, and the importance of salvation, the value of the soul, the purpose of life, the foulness of sin, redemption, the world to come, Our Lord's goodness and mercy, the story of His life and passion,—all these grip the soul of the retreatant, lift him up from a life of dull routine, inspire him with a new faith, ardour, courage, zeal. The "meditations" are not random exhortations. They form a series, they have a regular order. Each one follows and drives home the one that went before.

The result is *conviction*, and a new view of life, a new sense of its value and responsibilities, personal and social. A retreat shows men *how to live*. It puts their lives in order, clears their minds, deepens their faith, stiffens their resolution, and brings an unutterable peace into their lives.

And the results are lasting. It is no mere passing emotion or pious feeling that takes possession of these men. A very large number of them are not particularly "pious": they are hard-headed, practical working-men, who are shown how to *understand* their religion better than they have done before, to make it the most real and practical thing about them.

How often do we find men who, when transplanted from a Catholic atmosphere (where they drift into Mass

on Sunday largely, perhaps, as a matter of habit and because others do) into the pagan atmosphere of an English town, lose their Catholic *initiative*. Because they are deprived of the helps which they had at home, they grow slack, miss Mass, give up prayer, and fall an easy prey to the seduction of city life, or at all events cease to live a supernatural life. Thousands of fine men are eventually lost to the faith because, finding themselves in a strange and uncongenial land, they have never been shown how to guide their own Catholic lives against the stream of public opinion. They are like hothouse plants suddenly exposed to the chill of a rigorous climate. They are not *prepared* for the blighting and corrosive atmosphere of modern paganism. Thank God there are many, many exceptions. Daily we meet men to whom their religion has been their great stay and comfort in a Godless community: who have kept in contact with God, praised Him in adversity, clung to Him in difficulty, realized more and more the beauty and grandeur of their faith, defended it like martyrs and spread it by word and deed like confessors. They have fought their way through. But the fight has been a fierce one, and many have been the temptations to discouragement.

But others have gone under. They may not have actually denied their faith: but it has been faith without works. They might have been apostles. They are merely slack Catholics. The pity of it! Are we to blame them unreservedly? Are we not rather to blame ourselves because we have allowed them to be exposed to such a crushing temptation? We are all responsible one for another. Souls are being lost: here is a means of saving them. Faith is endangered: here is a way of strengthening it. We are quick to relieve bodily distress, to feed the starving, clothe the naked, harbour the homeless. Shall we not make every effort to provide God's people with a spiritual food that will sustain them in the wilderness, to shield them from the destroying blasts of error and

the chill of indifference? Retreats can do it. They are doing it all over the world.

In a retreat a man is *alone with God.* He shuts off the world and its distractions, the cares of business, the anxieties of earning a living, the trifles that fill his life, the news and the gossip, the petty quarrels and small ambitions, sport and politics, and all the things that pass away. He climbs, as it were, to the topmost peaks of a solitary mountain, and fixes his eyes on the stars. Below him is the unquiet murmur of the world, with its passions and follies and selfishness, where men pause not to think whence they come or whither they go. He is alone with God. He looks up into the face of his Maker. He looks down into the depths of his own soul. The momentous choice is before him. Is it to be Heaven or Hell? Shall he drift with the crowd and lose his glorious heritage? Or shall he, by a heroic effort, grasp the Cross and follow his Lord? He counts the cost; he reckons the price to be paid. He knows that unceasing vigilance is the price of the liberty of God's children. He cannot afford to be easy-going. He must not dare to surrender to the world. He is God's soldier, fighting God's battle.

He comes out from his retreat with a great purpose in life. His religion is no longer a mere matter of pious practices and formal devotions. It runs through the whole of life. It calls for whole-hearted service, watchful vigilance, enterprise, keen interest. It must colour his work, his play, his eating and drinking, his hopes and ambitions, health and sickness, life and death.

It will easily be seen that these retreats are not a mere pious luxury. They are an urgent need of our time. A man comes to retreat to be *built up* again. Those who flock to the retreat-houses are often scarred or battered from their contact with life, out of tune with God, despondent, in the grip of evil habits. They come to put themselves in order, to recover their bearings, to get the best out of their lives. And what a wonderful job they

often make of it. One meets them and hears from them years afterwards, and they declare that their retreat was the turning-point of their lives. It had been like the awakening from a dream.

Retreats save souls. Retreats build up character and strengthen faith. And they do more. They make apostles. They build up not only the individual but society. The world is in a sorry state. Brute force is becoming the method by which nations and classes deal with one another. Selfishness is rampant. "Grab all you can, no matter how," is the motto of Capital and of Labour, of the class or of the individual. Unless our course is arrested we shall all perish together. What can arrest it? Only a return of the Gospel of Christ. Only one leader can save us, and that is Our Lord, meek and humble of heart. We need a Crusade, a mighty, popular movement, with Our Lord to lead it. Who else can root out of the hearts of our workers the suspicion and bitterness of soul, or break the crust of selfishness that has grown over those who have power, or exorcise the spirit of lawlessness which threatens to wreck the world and throw it back to barbarism? Not by violence and ill-will, strife and suspicion, selfishness and oppression can the face of the earth be regenerated: but only by the spirit of Christ Our Lord, conquering by Love. In a retreat this love is generated, and men learn how to kindle it in the world. A retreat is not the same thing as a "mission." In a mission the elementary truths of salvation are expounded to a large crowd in a series of sermons, between which those who are following the mission follow their ordinary everyday tasks: they go to work, they live at home, they discuss news, they read the papers. Missions are an excellent means of grace, and the mission sermons will stir up many a one to come to his duties. But even if all the sermons are faithfully attended, they do not *sink in* in the same way as a retreat. They are not *pondered over* or assimilated. After the mission service the hearer goes back to the business of

life, which is apt to choke the seed sown by the missioner. The emotion produced by a mission sermon may be very intense ; but it is likely to be followed by a reaction.

In a retreat, on the other hand, the impressions produced by each talk are not lost : they quietly sink in. Everything in the house helps to deepen them : the presence of the Blessed Sacrament under the same roof, the little visits to the chapel, the holy pictures and statues, the calm and peace of the grounds, the reading at meals, the rosary procession, the sight of other devout retreatants, the silence, the familiar chats with the priest. Then comes a *power* of concentrating on spiritual things, of reflecting seriously, of self-examination. The treatment is much more *individual*. The men are not lost in a crowd, but treated one by one. They have opportunities of leisurely conversation with a priest which are impossible during the time of a mission. In a retreat the priest is at the service of the men. His room is accessible, and the men are invited to drop in to see him whenever they like. Many men seldom get a chance of such frank and confidential talks with their clergy : they see the priest when he visits their families or when they go to confession. But in the first case others are present, and in the second a queue is probably waiting for the same purpose, and these occasions do not really tend to break the crust of shyness which envelopes so many young men.

In a retreat, then, individual spiritual guidance becomes possible. The work of the retreat is not merely to reclaim the lapsed (though that it often does), but to create apostles and men who will strive to christianise not merely their own souls, but the souls of those among whom they live and the society of which they form a part. A mission appeals to the many ; a retreat endeavours to influence the many by means of the trained few. That, after all, was Our Lord's way, and it certainly seems to be to-day the only effective method of forming public opinion. Here I speak with some confidence. One sees that in labour circles, for instance, nine-tenths of the men have

but little initiative ; they acquiesce in the decisions of an active few. A small body of determined men who have fixed and clear principles are able to sway the rest. That has been the history of so many great movements.

Now it is particularly important that we should have not merely a good general level of Catholic piety but a number of well-trained men of character who can express the faith that is in them and apply to the troubled world those Catholic principles which are for the healing of society as well as of the individual soul. Without such leaders I find that our Catholic working-men in England are apt to be enticed into the ranks of those whose principles are unchristian or even anti-christian. Even if their faith does not snap, it is nevertheless exposed to a very serious strain, which it is our business to remove. It can only be removed by exhibiting to them the Catholic Church, not merely as a private source of comfort to themselves, but as the remedy for the social evils of the world, evils which their faith should impel them to remedy.

But let us come to the concrete. I find that Catholic working-men, especially the younger among them, when they have made a retreat realize that they have a great social mission ; they are ready to take trouble to fulfil it ; they labouriously fit and train themselves in their study circles for social action which Christ Our Lord requires from them and to which Popes and Bishops have urged them ; they learn to think clearly and to speak convincingly ; they attain to official positions in their trade unions or in local government ; they are ready with an answer to those who propose unchristian remedies for social evils ; they can give a reason for the faith that is in them ; they become among their fellows singularly convincing. In mine or mill or factory the men who are debating social questions of wages, of property, of socialism, of morals will often turn instinctively to any Catholic who happens to be present and ask him " what do you think about it," expecting to hear a sane and reasoned opinion, not culled from the daily paper or

picked up from a tub-orator. It is definitely becoming realised in working-class circles in England that Catholics have definite principles which they can apply to current controversies. These principles have chiefly been acquired in Catholic study clubs, and these study clubs are largely due to the impetus given in retreats. For the man who has made a retreat does not take up such work merely as a passing fad, but with the conviction that he is thus taking a practical part in the apostolic work of the Church. Visitors at the Catholic Social Guild Summer School recently held in Oxford were immensely impressed by the splendid and generous zeal of the young working men who followed its courses; of their balance of mind, grasp of principles; enterprise and mutual charity. Most of these young men had made retreats and were anxious to bear witness to what the retreats had done for them. They had been given a positive formation, an intelligent interest in all that concerned the Church, a readiness to come forward and work wherever the interests of the Church could be served. They had a splendid ringing confidence in the power of Catholic truth and a thirst for knowledge not merely for its own sake but because it was an instrument for the service of God and their neighbour. The infectious enthusiasm of these young men has, I know, made a notable difference in the Catholic life of the districts from which they came. Other young men who might simply have drifted into disloyalty to the Church have caught their enthusiasm and have not only been proof against the infiltrations of error, but have been given a new conception of the grandeur of Catholic truths.

"But will the men come?" Of course they will come. They will come in increasing numbers. At first there may be some hesitation; but when a few have been they will make the work known to others. The best advertisement of these retreats is the men who have made them. They come again and bring their friends.

"Can they get the time off?" This is sometimes a real difficulty in a country like England. But even there

week-end retreats at least are always possible. In a Catholic country it is much easier. Employers must have it impressed upon them that they could render no greater service to church and country than to make arrangements for their men to get away annually for their retreats. Of course these retreats need careful organisation. One has to make systematic efforts to secure the men. Lectures and sermons need to be given explaining the idea of popular retreats; the press has to be used to the full; close touch must be kept with the parish priests (everything depends on their co-operation), and arrangements made for batches of men to come from the various parishes in turn.[1]

Besides establishing regular retreat homes for men, much may be done by organising occasional retreats in colleges during holidays or even in convents. Very successful was a retreat given not long ago at New Hall Convent (Essex) to twenty-nine men, half of whom were not Catholic at all. These men came in the early morning in time for Mass, and went home in the evening after Benediction. During the three days they listened to twelve "instructions." They all prayed and meditated and said their rosaries and read spiritual books. They all sang "Faith of Our Fathers," and received the Pope's Blessing, and sent a joint telegram of thanks to the Bishop invoking his blessing. The non-Catholics are now gradually coming up for instruction. The nuns fed them, waited on them, and read to them at table.

The thing can be done if people really want to do it. Let us convince ourselves that we could do nothing better. As Leo XIII. has written :—

> There is no doubt that these retreats, penetrated with meditation upon celestial truths, procure not only the sanctification of individuals but the general utility of society. . . . We have learnt with the most lively joy of the creation of the new work, and of its fruits, which are already so abundant. . . . we desire to see . . . . this work so happily begun in France and Belgium, spread with equal success among other nations.

CHARLES PLATER.

[1] See *Retreats for the People* (Sands & Co.).

EXPERIMENTAL RESEARCH IN UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN.

BY JAMES L. O'DONOVAN, M.SC.

THE success of a farm is measured, not by the quantity of the seed sown, but by the bulk and quality of the fruit it bears. The dissemination of knowledge from University College, Dublin, is a fact which grows daily and palpably. It succeeds in training annually many hundreds of Irish men and women, fitting them as citizens, inspiring them with high ideals and aiding them in the acquisition of culture and the realization of self. But as to the success or failure of University College in adding to the world's store of knowledge, much ignorance prevails amongst the general public, and it is with a view to removing this ignorance that the present article has been written. We propose to confine our investigation to the experimental sciences—Botany, Chemistry, Pathology, Physiology and Experimental (as distinct from Mathematical) Physics. A bibliography of published work is appended, and matter is introduced sufficient to enable the general reader to appreciate the nature of this work. In the course of the article frequent reference is made to this bibliography.

In the list of published work much of the most valuable investigation of the late Professor McClelland, alone or in collaboration with Sir J. J. Thomson, does not appear, as it was conducted out of University College, and prior to 1908. His well-known work on secondary radiation and atomic structure is typical of this class. He participated in most of the researches of his students.

Meteorology not less than pure science is greatly indebted to Dr. J. J. Nolan. In certain of his works [1-3] we find *inter alia* the basis of Dr. Simpson's theory to account for the enormous electrical stresses which occur in the atmosphere prior to the discharge of lightning in thunderstorms. Drops of water splashing on a metal plate acquire electricity whilst the metal acquires electricity of an opposite nature. The solid obstacle is however unnecessary, and Dr. Nolan (to whom many brilliant results are due) quantitatively investigated the electrical effects produced by breaking up a jet of water into spray and splitting large drops in a current of air. A thunderstorm is due to the formation of a cumulus cloud, essential to which is an upward current of air. The expanding air on cooling causes the water-vapour in the air to condense, and it is this process which the formation of cloud makes visible. Now this mass of droplets would, owing to gravity, naturally fall to earth were there not an upward air-current fast enough to float the cloud. The necessary velocity of this current is known and also the size of drop which can exist without subdivision in the face of such an air-current. Hence when the drops tend to grow larger than this maximum size, they are divided and electricity is generated, not only on the water but also on the upflowing air. It is to high charges accumulated in this manner that the discharge of lightning in thunderstorms is due. Most important work, having a similar bearing on atmospheric electricity, was done on the electric charge on rain.[4-6] This work, owing to its very high value, was reproduced in *Le Radium*—a depository, internationally recognized, of the world's best contributions to that part of physics which deals with radio-activity and all allied electrical phenomena.[1]

[1] This account could not pretend to even a cursory completeness without mentioning very important work by Dr. Nolan at present with the publishers on the nature of the ion produced in air by radio-active bodies.

Just as the vocabulary of "the man in the street" ten years ago was incomplete without 'atom,' so now 'ion' is a necessary addition. The passage of electric current through a solid (such as common salt) in solution, exerts on it electrolytic action, the effect of which is the resolution of the molecule—the lowest free-existing chemical entity—into electrically charged entities, which are termed 'ions' (wanderers). The ions are always of two kinds, those bearing a charge of positive electricity and those negatively charged. Ions are not confined to solutions however. Gases also, though they conduct electricity to a much less extent than solutions, can contain free ions, which may be produced by radioactive agents, by the action of ultra-violet light, from flames [7] and in other ways, all of which have been investigated in University College. The conduction of electricity through the atmosphere is assumed to be due to the presence in it of free ions, and hence we are in a position to realize the importance of the University's work on the ions of the atmosphere.

Many eminent physicists have investigated the nature and properties of one class of ions, small ions, which are possessed of a high mobility; but the investigation of the other class, large ions, of low mobility, has been practically confined to Dr. Kennedy and other College researchers.[8–11] Their work demands much more extensive apparatus and very much more patience. Some of Dr. Kennedy's work has been selected for reproduction in its entirety in *Le Radium*.[9] Some very large and very different types of ions have been discovered by another worker whose results on the electrical conductivity of the air in the neighbourhood of phosphorus have overthrown the previously accepted opinions of continental workers.[12] University College has become almost the home of the large ion, and we are in a position to say that a highly important comprehensive theory on this branch of atmospheric ionisation will be shortly published.

While this work on ions and ionisation, radio-activity and atmospheric electricity marks a real tendency or school of research, other branches of physics have not been neglected. One of our most versatile workers, who has published a gravitational theory and the results of his investigations into the effect of an electric current on photographic plates,[13] has also recently published valuable studies conducted on behalf of Nobel's Explosives Co. on the self-ignition of ether-air mixtures.[14] Another versatile worker, who has published work in Germany and here on organic chemistry,[46] has brought further evidence to bear on an important problem in photo-electricity.[15] Finally, frictional electricity has claimed its followers. Everyone knows that, by rubbing a vulcanite fountain-pen on one's coat-sleeve, the energy expended is converted partly into heat but largely into electricity, which can be utilised to raise from a distance small pieces of paper. Our knowledge of this subject was previously motley and vague, but has now been established on an accurate quantitative basis.[16] The work of Rev. R. McCarthy, S.J., awaits publication.

Mr. Dowling makes a departure from the general trend of College work. Besides the many published works to his credit,[18–20] mention must be made of an interesting and valuable piece of research soon to be published. Co-operating with the late professor and another researcher, the measurement of infinitesimally small time intervals was investigated on behalf of the Nobel Co. Mr. Dowling has also published a work [17] which the well-known physicist, Vessot-King, pronounced to be the most important contribution of its kind; in this, the conditions under which turbulent motion sets in during the flow of air and other gases through tubes are analysed. An important law, previously framed for liquids, was found to apply to gases and a previously unnoticed turbulent condition was discovered. In February, Mr. Dowling communicated to the Royal

Dublin Society, the remarkable results which he has achieved by means of his "ultra-micrometer," an elaborate electrical device which renders possible the measurement of minute movements and displacements. The delicacy of the ultra-micrometer is ten thousand times as great as that attained to by any mode of measurement previously known. It can record with accuracy an expansive movement of 10^{-8} cm. (one hundred-millionth of a centimetre)—a feature which involves measurement approximating to molecular dimensions. The possible applications of this invention to physical research, to seismology, to engineering and other branches of applied science are without number. The work, which is being published under the Proceedings of the Royal Dublin Society, is not included in the bibliography.

Much other work which is awaiting publication is omitted, and no mention is made of the important experiments conducted outside of University College by its students, in conjunction with eminent physicists such as Sir J. J. Thomson and Professor Rutherford. As with other departments of the research activity of the College, the results are embodied in all the standard journals and text-books on the subject; Sir J. J. Thomson's *Conduction through Gases* may be quoted as an example.

The botanical department in the College is yet in its infancy, and the number of workers is few; yet some important work has been produced. Only one will here be considered as representative of this department's work.[21] It was begun in Hamburg under the direction of the eminent morphologist, Winkler. The periodic shedding of the petiole of a plant in company with the leaf is a phenomenon which may at any time be observed, *e.g.*, in the cases of the sycamore, the chestnut, the geranium. It immediately differentiates the petiole from the stem, the latter possessing long life-duration and evidencing in many respects a well-developed secondary growth. It is found that, although the differences between petiole

and stem are so essential as to be thought to preclude the petiole from ever assuming the functions, not to mention the form, of the stem, yet by grafting this can indeed be effected. Although the subject had been touched upon before, it was left to Mr. Doyle, M.Sc., to present the facts of the problem, to investigate the causes and to elaborate an orderly theory which embodies views now widely accepted.

The published research in chemistry for many reasons does not lend itself to adequate treatment. Much of the work of Professor Hugh Ryan was published before 1908, and is consequently omitted from the bibliography. His contributions, at least nine in number, appeared in the *Berichte der deutschen chemischen Gesellschaft*, in *The Journal of the Chemical Society* (England) and in the equally recognised proceedings of our own scientific academies. In Germany Dr. Ryan collaborated with one of the world's most famous chemists, Emil Fischer. Much of the earlier work of the College very naturally was a logical continuation of Fischer's work, and dealt largely with certain complex organic compounds occurring in vegetable tissues known as glucosides and analogous bodies, many of which are physiologically important. The investigations of these substances and of sugars and enzymes formed a most valuable addition to the world's existing knowledge of the subject. Another series of researches dealt with compounds of palmitic and stearic acids, which either alone or as derivatives are almost the sole constituents of candles, of soaps and of most animal and vegetable fats and oils, *e.g.*, tallow, suet, butter, palm-oil and olive oil [28-29]; waxes are allied bodies, and the constitutions of bees-wax and other waxes have been the subject of much patient and useful research.[30-32]

To the natural dyes are due the cloying richness and profusion of colour with which nature adorns her plants and flowers and insects. There is hardly a more fascinating realm for investigation in the whole of chemistry

than the nature and constitution of these dyes. Many, such as indigo, have been replaced by the synthetic product; others are scarcely used. But several are still invaluable and are, by virtue of their non-poisonous nature, in growing demand for colouring foodstuffs. From theoretical considerations, these dyes form a most fruitful field of research, since work on them directly bears on the inter-relation of colour and chemical constitution.[33-35] To anthocyan pigments are due the beautiful reds and blues and purples of flowers, and these are chemically related to the flavone compounds, the parents of the yellow range of colours. On the former—especially the pigments of the peonies—much work was done by Dr. T. Nolan with Willstätter, and his discoveries have been deemed worthy of record in standard text-books such as Stewart's *Recent Researches in Organic Chemistry*. On the flavones, the value of the work of University College cannot be overestimated. Pages of such a standard work as Perkin's and Everest's *Natural Organic Colouring Matters* (Longmans, 1920) are devoted to the brilliant achievements of Dr. Ryan and his co-workers. Their discovery of diflavone has opened up a vast field of research,[36-39] while their work on diketones has incidentally almost achieved one of the most difficult and elusive syntheses experienced by chemists, that of curcumin, a yellow dye.[33-35, 41-45] The results of their researches into the nature of catechin[40]—in daily use as an important dye for woollens and for cotton printing—have been a deciding factor between the rival constitutions proposed for catechin by such eminent chemists as Perkin and Yoshitake on the one hand and by von Kostanecki and Lampe on the other. Other natural dyes contained in barwood, etc., have been investigated with important results,[46] and Miss O'Neill has published in England several works completed with Perkin. The complexity of these dyes is, properly interpreted, a lesson in faith to those who can appreciate the building-up by a plant,

from humble materials such as water and carbon dioxide, of substances so enormously complex that it is beyond the powers of science to synthesize them. Finally, we may mention the investigation of lichens and their tinctorial properties.[47] Previous German work on lichens was very incomplete, the dyeing properties not having been touched upon. Lichens are still used as dyes, ranging from lemon-yellow to orange and red, in the west of Ireland.

More distinctly related to plant life is the peat problem, and it was but fitting that the greater part of the investigations into the peat resources of Ireland and their utilization should have been carried out in University College[48-49]. Dr. Ryan is the recognised authority on peat in these countries, and he has given his services untiringly to such different bodies as the British Power and Fuel Research Committee and the Irish Commission of Inquiry. Besides his work published in the Economic Proceedings of the Royal Dublin Society (1907-1908) he has in the press or awaiting publication the results of recent important investigations.

From 1918 onwards [1] a new tendency in chemical research developed. The shortage of fine chemicals, due to the closing of the German market, turned attention to the subject of explosives. One work [51] on the three isomeric forms of the famous explosive trinitrotoluene—" T.N.T."—threw much light on their varying behaviour and was helpful in the elimination of accidents which sometimes occurred in their manufacture. Many of the published works deal with new stabilisers. Certain explosives are liable to decompose and, to prevent this and make storage possible, bodies of widely differing natures and modes of action known as " stabilisers " are incorporated with the explosive to render it stable. Much work of high

[1] Exceptions are one work on new synthetic dyes,[50] the work on peat always in progress, and some valuable work by Dr. Algar on new drugs to exterminate an evil race, the pneumococci (work now being published by the Medical Research Committee).

theoretical value—not to speak of its obvious practical application—has been done by this "explosives school." A much greater bulk has been done by an ever-increasing band of researchers in the last two years; but this, on account of its importance to the Nobel Co. (who suggested the work and supplied the materials), has been withheld from publication for a year or two. Thus, as is the case also with other departments of our research activity, the published work is not a complete indication of the results actually achieved. Further, many investigations of University College students are omitted entirely, because they were carried out and published in Germany, France or England. Various works, Dr. Algar's on the natural dyes, Miss Ryan's on diphenylamine and Mr. O'Riordan's on the lichens dyes, have been selected for lengthy treatment in the Annual Reports of the Chemical Society (1916, 1919 and 1918) of England. The number of new compounds discovered in University College is to be counted in hundreds.

In the pathology department a very large output of published works, mainly connected with tuberculosis, typhoid and influenza, indicates valuable additions to the scientific side of pathology. Of these works only a small fraction is appended—those more closely pertaining to original researches. An interesting little problem arising out of typhoid inoculation will serve as a type of the problems solved by this department. The prevention of disease amongst the troops during the war of 1914-18 was ensured by their general inoculation. A few figures will illustrate the urgent importance and the vastness of the problem. During the Crimean War, the mortality from disease was 230 per thousand; during the French campaign in Madagascar in 1895 the deaths from disease numbered 5,600, while the number killed was only seven. The war footing of the British army was roughly five millions. Before the advent of the triple vaccine "T.A.B.," the simple typhoid vaccine was

generally administered to the troops. Now when this inoculated army of adult males came to be demobilised, a difficult problem of diagnosis often arose in the case of a feverish patient who had been vaccinated against enteric fever. How differentiate between enteric-vaccinated and typhoid-infected persons? A satisfactory solution of this problem has been discovered by Dr. W. D. O'Kelly.[57]

The bibliography will indicate the lines upon which pathological and bacteriological research developed, often under the direction of Professor McWeeney. Most important work has been done on prophylactic treatment of various diseases, on the chemotherapy of tuberculosis, and on the prevention and cure of influenza; in the latter, the prophylactic treatments provided by the University, during the various epidemics, assured immunity at least from pneumonia and dangerous complications.

In physiology the output of original work, though comparatively small, is of great value. Professor Collingwood has carried out valuable experiments on the blood; but as most of this work was done outside of the College, the entries in the bibliography in no way indicate his industry or his high rank among physiologists. Dr. J. M. O'Connor has made his own a sphere of research, the utility and fascination of which are plain even to a layman. Most of his work deals with the body temperature,[72-75] and with the factors of its control and regulation. The normal temperature of the atmosphere is ca. 56 deg. F. This ordinarily may sink as low as 35 deg. F. or may rise to over 100 deg. F. Despite all external changes, the temperature of the body remains constant. A variation of two or three degrees is a cause for anxiety; a variation of five or six degrees is a danger-signal. The body temperature, is something intrinsically determined for the healthy organism. How heat is produced to maintain the body

temperature above that of the external air is simply explained by the chemical energy liberated by the decomposing food—this procedure being known as the chemical heat regulation. But the mechanisms which facilitate the dissipation of any excess of heat and maintain the body's constancy in respect of temperature, are factors which have been very little investigated and which present great difficulties. These investigations have been carried out and these difficulties mastered by Dr. O'Connor. His work under Gottlieb and his publications in German are outside the scope of this article.

The treatment of this article might with advantage have been more exhaustive; but even this outline shows that, considering its infancy and the relative paucity of its workers, the research work of University College, Dublin, is considerable and gives very great promise. Those experienced in original research realize that any work humanly accomplished is always infinitesimal in its relation to absolute knowledge, inasmuch as any one problem worthy of solution becomes the progenitor of many others.

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* List of abbreviations used :—

S.P.R.D.S.—*Scientific Proceedings of the Royal Dublin Society.*
P.R.S.—*Proceedings of the Royal Society* (England).
P.R.I.A.—*Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy.*
L.R.—*Le Radium* (Paris).
A.B.—*Annals of Botany.*
E.P.R.D.S.—*Economic Proceedings of the Royal Dublin Society.*
T.R.A.M.I.—*Transactions of the Royal Academy of Medicine* (Ireland).
J.P.B.—*Journal of Pathology and Bacteriology.*
B.M.J.—*British Medical Journal.*
A.J.C.M.—*American Journal of Clinical Medicine.*
M.R.C.R.—*Medical Research Committee Reports.*
D.J.M.S.—*Dublin Journal of Medical Science.*
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CHRONICLE.

Some Recent Developments, Social and Political, in Italy.

THE facts of the socialist-anarchist campaign in Italy during the past few months—or longer—have become but faintly known in these countries. Their anti-capitalist or anti-social aspect has not had the interest for the British ruling and owning classes that the feats of Russian Bolsheviks or German Spartacists necessarily have ; their religious aspect has not commanded space in a secular press which finds little grist in purely religious matters. It will, therefore, we have no doubt, be of interest to thoughtful readers to have brought before them some recent phenomena of "red" politics in Italy as reflected from trustworthy informants. Amongst these are statements presented to a Parliamentary commission and summaries of facts given in various issues of the Roman *Civiltà Cattolica*.

It may be said in general that the state of things as regards shootings, burnings and lootings in certain—perhaps somewhat exceptional—parts of Italy resembles closely that which has been for some time pretty general in Ireland. The chief difference is that, while the latter belongs to a political—or national—persecution, the former is religious. The various local clubs and associations which profess extreme socialist or anarchist doctrines are at one in making a war, hardly disguised or palliated, upon the Church —nay, upon the Saviour Himself, upon God. She, standing for Him, is once more singled out as "L'Infâme."

Something of the so-called "anti-clerical manifestations" and of the revolutionary riots at Naples, Brescia, Novara, Bologna, and Ferrara has already appeared in the English-written press. The following are some later incidents from the neighbourhood of those cities and elsewhere. At Ceretolo the parish church was put under "boicottagio." Threats were issued against all who should frequent it, a First-Communion celebration was prevented, an attempt to break open with stones the locked door of the church resulted in its being seriously damaged. The parish priest was not allowed

to make any use of the public bakehouse. And why all this? Because (it appears) his "man" was a member of a non-socialist association. A parish priest elsewhere was "boycotted" on the charge of having disposed of his grapes (the charge happened to be untrue) without permission of an association of local tyrants, and so effectual was their tyranny that when his mother died he with difficulty found any who would carry the corpse to the grave. The infernal campaign of the corruption of youth, long co-operated in by the official schools, is in some places energetically carried on by the new "red" societies. It was a crowd of mere boys, to the number of sixteen or twenty, who forced themselves upon one priest, and insisted that he should find some means of "de-baptising" them: they wished (they said) to renounce Christianity. They were boys or lads also who at Sammartini, last Holy Week, broke in upon the procession of "Christo morto" and followed the sacred image shouting their song *Bandiera Rossa* ("Red Flag"). At Bevilacqua a similar crowd prevented the Holy Thursday procession from leaving the church; they crowded up the porch, yelling the same chant. Elsewhere religious processions have been similarly terrorized or entirely prevented.

In the district around Persiceto churches have been noisily invaded during the service, religious statues and pictures along the streets destroyed by means of pistols or sticks or stones. Priests have been frequently insulted or stoned. In many places Catholics are intimidated from holding any communications with their pastors. At San-Martino-in-Argine the parish priest had purchased a house to serve as a technical school and a centre for theatrical and other amusements. The local "red" clubs determined to make this house their own. They not only took possession of it for an immoral dance, but, pleased with this success, compelled the priest to hand it over entirely to them for a sum amounting to half what he had paid for it. He was given to understand that, if he persisted in refusing their offer, neither he nor anyone else would be allowed to set foot in it.

More hideous impieties took place at Scopeto, where during the Christmas midnight Mass, a band of scoundrels invaded the church, broke up the sacred ceremony and attempted to outrage the place and occasion with dances. At Chiesina, where a similar invasion and attempt led to a conflict and bloodshed, two persons were killed in the church and a dozen wounded. At Prunarolo, some hundred scoundrels burst into the church, compelled the parish priest—an old man of 74 years—to carry their red flag and kiss it, and with the aid of fallen women, carried still further their obscene profanities.

At Castellamare di Stabia a socialist majority came into power in the municipal council. They proceeded to act with high-handed despotism, in particular transferring the local revenues from one purpose to another—with considerable attention to strictly personal interests. So violent were their ways that the non-socialist minority of the Council declared their resolution of abstaining, as a protest, from attendances in future at its meetings. Their supporters, who seem to have had a preponderance, even numerically, in the town, called a public meeting to defend their action and condemn that of the Socialists. The meeting was held under protection of the "carabinieri"—armed police, as we might call them. Its abrupt termination might remind us of scenes enacted much nearer home. A red flag was waved from a balcony of the town-hall ("municipal palace" it is called in Italy); whereupon boeings and hissings from the crowd below. Then a masked man from another balcony fired upon the police and succeeded in killing the chief constable (maresciallo). A fierce conflict ensued. Bombs were flung from the town-hall upon the crowd. After the popular fury had in vain attempted to force the entrances and seize the criminals entrenched within, the police succeeded in effecting an entry and putting a certain number of individuals under arrest. Eight—of whom two socialists—already lay dead; some twenty were more or less seriously wounded.

On the evening of January 21, 1921, two brothers named Ruini, who had served in the army at Fiume, were returning homewards accompanied by two other young men. All four were members of a local association viewed with hostility by the local "reds." A group of youths representing the latter ambushed them on their way and fired, wounding Mario Ruini. He fell; and while his unarmed companions struggled with the assailants, one of them rushed upon the fallen youth (he was only 19 years of age) and finished him with two discharges from a revolver.

Three days later the murdered Ruini was borne to his last resting-place amid great demonstrations of general sympathy, hundreds having gathered in to the funeral from outlying districts. This was intolerable to the local tyrants. A large gang of them broke suddenly from a side-street across the orderly and silent procession. Tumult ensued; shots were exchanged; but worse followed. From the roof of the adjacent post-office came a hail of bullets succeeded by bombs. The police succeeded ultimately in putting to flight or arresting the assailants—not, however, till two of the processionists had fallen dead and some fifteen received serious injuries.

The historian has in fairness to chronicle that the "moderates" of various shades have by no means been always remarkable for lamb-like meekness. Fierce reprisals for socialist or anarchist misdoings have here and there taken place. At Modena, for example, after the incidents just narrated, the friends of the Ruini and enemies of the Socialists took vengeance into their own hands, sacking and burning the chief meeting-place of the latter and the house of one of their chiefs, afterwards driving the defenders before them through the town. They also seized the "gonfalone"—municipal standard or mace—and declared their intention of not yielding it up till the local administration shall have been cleansed of murderers.

At Bologna, to which city belonged one of the two men shot at Modena, similar scenes of violence followed. They ended in a fierce siege of the Socialist "Labour Hall" by the "moderates," who finally drove out the defenders and pillaged and fired the building.

But the "moderates" can plead at least one distinct justification for their line of action. They repel (they say) violence by violence, having found appeal to the authorities useless. (And one easily understands how such appeals, when made in vain, become *worse* than useless). Appeals and remonstrances have been too often met with regrets, inquiries, postponements, platitudes, good advice, exhortations to patience—all the resources of a weak or conniving Government. No wonder that clergy and laity among the assailed have largely taken refuge in either of two policies—one of silent patience, the other of active self-defence.

Those who hope for a dawn of better things have lately been in a position to draw some comfort from the increasing quarrels and divisions of their enemies. The long-drawn verbal conflict which occupied the Socialist Congress of Leghorn has ended in a definite split—the socialists of the old brand refused to follow the communist wing into closer union with the Third International of Moscow. The latter body was represented at Leghorn by a Bulgarian and a Hungarian, who promulgated an "excommunication" (as it was described) against the brethren of the moderate school of Italian socialism. Three motions were brought forward—one by the left (Communists), one by the centre (Unitarists), one by the right (Concentrationists). In the voting, the first gained 50 thousand adherents; the second, 98 thousand; the third, 15 thousand. Since then attempts have been made to show that the division of souls is not so profound as it might have appeared; that the Third International and its chief Lenin (originally Ulianof)

are not rejected in principle by the Italian brethren, that the loud-resounding differences turn on questions of detail and application. But the division remains nevertheless as a solid and effectual fact; its reality is perpetually manifested in the Roman Parliament. So far the story of so-called democracy in its subversive and intolerant phases.

But there are elements of better hopes for the people of Italy.

We enter a different atmosphere when we turn from these scenes of literal or wordy warfare to look upon the death-bed of a distinguished Prince of the Church.[1] Cardinal Ferrari, whose loss has been mourned by extraordinary demonstrations of sympathy in Milan and all over Italy, was in truth a friend and father to his people; and the record of his noble designs and successful achievements for the public good might well occupy a larger space than we can here devote to them. Passing over the more strictly religious aspects of his activity, the late Archbishop of Milan has left two great works as a legacy to his diocese and to Italy. One is the Catholic University established at Milan—a work for which he laboured during many years, and which after many initial difficulties has become a living actuality, practically ready to start on its momentous mission of Catholic higher education for the youth of Lombardy and Italy. The other, perhaps more memorable still, is an institution for social service which the Cardinal had at heart more than any other work of his fruitful episcopate. This was the erection of a great establishment to be called the "Casa del Popolo"—"the People's House." To this institution the Cardinal munificently devoted the 330,000 lire presented to him on the occasion of his jubilee and soon raised to the splendid sum of 1,500,000 lire. "A People's House" in the truest sense of the word, the establishment when completed will meet all the social and domestic needs of the immense working population of Milan. There will be large dormitories of a thousand beds, affording cheap, safe and comfortable lodgings for the night; there will be kitchens, baths, dining rooms, reading rooms—all on the most ample scale. There will be schools and lectures, workshops and laboratories; professional and technical instruction of every kind will be provided; there will be hostels for students of various grades; a great library; a theatre capable of holding 5,000 persons. There will be central offices for various diocesan social works, such as the Catholic Labour Union, the periodical *Giunta*, the Catholic Women's League. The

[1] Cardinal Ferrari was born on Aug. 13, 1850, and died on Feb. 2, 1921. The diocese of Milan, which he administered for twenty-six years, is one of the largest in Europe—it contains three million Catholics.

management of this vast hive of social work is not to be left to haphazard ; a large committee or community consisting of both priests and laymen is to devote itself to the conduct of the " Casa del Popolo," under the guidance of statutes, in the framing of which the eminent founder took personally an enthusiastic and careful part. The noble work will perpetuate, we may hope, his memory to many generations.

Not only in Italy, but elsewhere also, is increasingly recognised by men of the stamp of Cardinal Ferrari the need of such formative and conservative social organizations and creations, if the clouds which loom over own civilization are to be dissipated or lightened. Such men and such works can and will save society—always on one condition—that the official holders of power will defend and further, or at least refrain from thwarting, their efforts.

How then does it stand with official rule in Italy—how with the hopeful elements in Italian politics ? We shall at present confine our attention to the second question, and in answering it, to the most significant and (in our opinion) most hopeful movement to be discerned amid the political turmoil of the Peninsula. No student of European affairs has failed to notice with interest the rapid rise into importance of the Italian Popular Party—" Partito Popolare Italiano." (P.P.I.) Of the history, ideas and personalities of that Party we propose to give our readers a brief sketch.

It was some nine years after the taking of Rome by the troops of Victor Emmanuel that Catholics in Italy made their first attempt to associate themselves with the life of " United Italy." A number of Catholics, the most noted of whom were Cesare Cantù, Giovanni Baptisa de'Rossi and Augusto Conti, held several reunions in the house of Count di Campello in Rome with this object. Leo XIII was favourably disposed to these men and appreciated their good intentions ; but, in addition to the difficulties arising from the Roman question, an obstacle came from another quarter. The French and Austrian Ambassadors, hearing what was on foot, went at once to the Pontiff and prevailed on him to block the movement at its birth. Thus did the representatives of two states with opposite political tendencies testify to the political advantages accruing to Italy from the participation of Catholics in civil life.

Far more important as the precursor of the Popular Party was the Christian Democratic Movement of 1896. Not a few of the more prominent members of the P.P.I.—Meda, Mauri, Sturzo—played a leading part in this movement, and a comparison of its programme with that of the P.P.I. makes the affinity clear. The programme of the Christian Democrats who assembled at Turin in

1901 contained the following points :—diminution of military expenses, universal disarmament, brotherhood of peoples, international arbitration—thus forestalling the League of Nations ; protection for women and child workers and obligatory days of rest—reforms since granted ; the protection of peasant proprietors —no demand, however, being then made for arbitration in agrarian disputes nor for the colonisation of big estates ; tax reform on the lines of distributive justice (as agitated for to-day) ; proportional representation (recently won by the efforts of the P.P.I.) ; decentralisation and certain proposals for the advancement of agriculture, commerce and industry.

The Christian Democratic movement aroused much enthusiasm all over Italy and gave birth to a great creative impulse which resulted in the formation of many co-operative and other societies. The first blow came from the stupidity of the Rudini Government in the storm of 1898, when Christian Democrats were confounded with the subversive Socialists and Republicans, and had to suffer all kinds of persecutions, calumnies, trials, imprisonments, with the suppression of their committees, circles and congresses. From this they recovered only to fail again through internal dissensions and through the errors of some enthusiasts which necessitated intervention on the part of the ecclesiastical authorities. The times were not ripe for the formation of a party representative at once of Catholic and democratic ideals, whilst the *non expedit*, which prohibited Catholics from active and passive voice in parliamentary elections, blocked political action.

In 1904 the great central organisation of the " Work of the Congresses " (Opera dei Congressi) was reconstituted. A section calling itself the Autonomous Christian Democracy refused to submit to ecclesiastical authority and broke off from the main body. Don Romolo Murri, the most prominent member of this section, carried his democratic theories into the constitution of the Church and thereby incurred excommunication. The main body, including the principal members of the present P.P.I., stood loyal in their obedience to their religious heads. Unjustly, therefore, has the Roman Correspondent of the *Tablet* sought, in a recent number, to throw discredit on Senator Mauri, Ireland's greatest friend in Italy, by associating his name with that of Murri. The religious split, however, had one important consequence—it impressed on Don Sturzo[1] the necessity of founding a party strictly national in

[1] Don Francisco Sturzo, the present political secretary of the Popular Party, is a nephew of the late Father Aloysius Sturzo, for many years Master of Novices and Provincial of the Irish Province of the Society of Jesus.

character. The title "Catholic," he thought, should not be adopted, because "party" and "Catholic" are opposed to each other. "Catholic" connotes religion and universality, while "party" implies politics and division. As long ago as 1905 Don Sturzo gave expression to this opinion in a speech delivered at Caltagirone, his native place in Sicily. But the moment was not yet propitious for founding a party such as he contemplated, and so he went on maturing his plans. Then came the war, which left an aftermath of new problems, social and political. At the Congress of Bologna, June 24, 1919, the Partito Popolare Italiano was at last launched.

In constitutional theory the Popular Party seeks to replace a policy of centralisation by a policy of decentralisation. It is an enemy of the modern Caesarism which would regulate every organic function and limit every civil liberty. For it the truly popular or democratic State is one that recognises loyally the limits of its functions, respects the natural groups and organisms (family, class, commune), safeguards the rights of the individual and encourages private initiative. In order that the State may be a real expression of the people's will, the Popular Party demands the application of proportional representation to parliamentary and municipal elections, votes for women, an elective senate or upper house, the abolition of bureaucratic methods, the simplification of legislation, the juridical recognition of the various social organisms, municipal autonomy, and a thorough decentralisation in favour of regional unities. And as all this would be vain without true liberty, it emphatically demands such liberty—liberty in the field of religion, so that the Church may carry out her mission in the world; liberty in the field of education, where state monopolies are not to be allowed; liberty in the field of social organisations, where there must be no party preferences or privileges. True to Catholic principles, the Popular Party rejects the two extremes of individualism and statism.

Providence smiled on the Popular Party at its birth. Even before entering Parliament it saw the adoption of one of its planks—the application of proportional representation to parliamentary elections. Shortly after the Congress of Bologna the Government announced a general election on the basis of proportional representation. At this election the "Popolari" won a good hundred seats. It now became evident that a new force had entered Italian politics. Its adversaries were quick to scent danger in proportional representation, and consequently they opposed its application to municipal elections. In this they succeeded; but they were

disappointed in their hopes of thus inflicting a crushing defeat on the Popular Party. Out of 8,059 municipalities this Party secured the majority of seats in 1,610 and the minority in over 2,500, thus winning an entry into more than half of the municipalities. The "Popolari," therefore, hold at present just a fifth of the parliamentary seats and control an equal number of the municipalities.

The reader would now naturally like to know something about the more prominent members of this Party. About a fifth of them are old Parliamentarians, whilst about one-half have been municipal councillors or mayors. Of the old Parliamentarians Meda, lawyer, journalist, author of various works, and social organiser, was Finance Minister in the recent Boselli and Orlando Cabinets and is now Minister of the Treasury. A sketch of his career has already appeared in STUDIES (March, 1917). Nava, a distinguished engineer, President of the Ambrosian Bank and of the Circle "Pro Cultura" in Milan, was Under-Secretary of the Arms and Munitions Department in the Orlando Cabinet, and at the close of the war rose to be Minister of Reconstruction of the Liberated Districts.

With these we may mention another Milanese and an old Parliamentarian, Mauri, a lawyer by profession, specially devoted to agrarian questions. He founded the journal *Il Momento* in 1903, taught Political Economy at Pavia, was member of the Higher Council of Agriculture and of the Council of the Association of Italian Municipalities. Mauri, who was elected Senator last summer, has rendered great service to the Irish cause in Italy. On November 5, 1920, he wrote a striking letter to the *Corriere d'Italia.* In the name of justice and humanity he called for Italian sympathy, pointed the parallel between German terrorism in Belgium and British terrorism in Ireland, forecasted the benefits to the world in general if Ireland were master of her own destinies, and claimed public support for a martyred people in their heroic struggle for the world-recognised right of self-determination. On November 13 he filed the following motion, which has not yet come up for discussion in the Italian Parliament: "The Italian Chamber expresses its warm sympathy with Ireland fighting, in the name of the principle of self-determination, for the cause of national emancipation, and wishes the noble Irish people a future fruitful in prosperity and peace." On November 27, in his Parliamentary speech on the Treaty of Rapallo, he inserted a message of sympathy which was greeted from all parts of the house with an applause that was practically equivalent to a general vote. A few days later he organised a great meeting at Milan, where the Irish cause was

enthusiastically acclaimed. And it was no doubt largely due to him that a motion was passed about the same time by the Popular Party in the Province of Lombardy wishing Ireland "a rapid and secure victory" in its fight for self-determination. Senator Mauri is also to speak at the great demonstration to be held at Rome on February 27. He will be supported by Martire, one of the most popular orators of the Party. Martire is a young journalist, who headed the Roman voting list at the recent parliamentary elections and who some months ago contributed to the *Corriere d'Italia* a moving article on the death of the Lord Mayor of Cork.

In this context mention should be made of Giuseppe Guerra. He is not a Member of Parliament; but as private secretary to Don Sturzo he visited Ireland last summer and on his return laid a report before the Popular Party. The report was duly considered, and on September 17 the following resolution was passed: "The National Council then expressed a unanimous vote in favour of Irish autonomy and, recognising how such a question is of international import, wishes that it be solved as soon as possible in accordance with the principles of liberty and justice." The Roman Council of the P.P.I. also expressed its sympathy with the Irish cause at a meeting held in the Via Celso last December.

Other members of the Popular Party are Micheli, a former Minister for Agriculture, who is a recognised authority on economics and social science; Sanjust, an eminent engineer, who has carried out immense works at Cagliari, Arbatax and Rome; Marconcini, Professor of Political Economy in the University of Turin and author of many books; Boggiani, Professor of Statistics, Customs Legislation and Commercial Politics at Genoa (has written valuably and extensively on economic, social and agrarian questions); Tangorra, who worked himself up from an employee's desk at Lucca to the Chair of Political Economy in the University of Pisa, where he succeeded the famous Toniolo; Piva, Professor in the University of Padua, a distinguished historian, member of the "Deputazione Veneta di Storia Patria," head inspector and organiser of secondary and elementary studies in the Province of Venice. Journalism is represented by Crispolti, Editor of *Il Cittadino*; by Cappa, Editor of *L'Avvenire d'Italia*; and by Vassallo, an authority on foreign and colonial problems. Labour is represented by Grandi, a self-educated workman, who was President of the Italian Textile Syndicate and Secretary of the Italian Workmen's Federation; by Salvadori, organiser of the Leagues of Brescia; by Bacci, President of the Tenant's Union at Bagni; and by Scotti, one of the founders of the Federation of Small Proprietors at Asti. Finally,

mention must be made of Miglioli, an old Parliamentarian from Cremona, where the agrarian question is a burning one. He is leader of the advanced but relatively small section of the "Popolari"—about ten—who approach nearest to the red line of Socialism.

"Popolari" and Socialists form now the two most imposing groups in the Italian Parliament. The latter are well aware of the obstacle which they encounter in the former, and are trying methods of violence and abuse to check their triumphal progress. Will they succeed? No, if the "Popolari" maintain themselves compact and disciplined. Yes, if their organisation is invaded by the party spirit which has recently split the Socialists themselves into two or three sections. Of course, agreement always and in all things cannot be expected: we naturally find that some members of the Party are not yet freed from their ancient conservative traditions, while others are inclined to be impatient and immoderate in their methods of reform. But if prudence and tact succeed in preserving unity of action, it does not seem unreasonable to believe that the future of Italy will be largely shaped by the Popular Party.

O. C. D.

REVIEWS.

Biography.

SAINT COLUMBA. By A. B. Ochiltree Ferguson. Dublin: Talbot Press. 1920. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.

SAINT COLUMBA OF IONA. A Study of His Life, His Times, and His Influence. By Lucy Menzies. London: Dent. 1920. 8*s.* 6*d.* net.

ADAMNANI VITA S. COLUMBAE. Edited from Dr. Reeves's Text. With an Introduction on Early Irish Church History, Notes and a Glossary. By J. T. Fowler, M.A., D.C.L. A New Edition Revised. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1920. 10*s.* 6*d.* net.

THE tradition which identifies Gartan in Tirconaill as the place, and the death-day of St. Buite (7th December) as the day of St. Columcille's birth, has at least a thousand years of life behind it, being enshrined in the Old Irish "Homily" on the Saint, assigned by scholars to the 10th century. The year 521 is deduced from *data* supplied by Adamnan, who tells us that his hero was forty-two years old when he sailed for Britain, and that his departure took place two years after the battle of Culdreimne, which some of the *Annals* place in the year 561. We have, therefore, reasonable, though by no means absolute, grounds for regarding the 7th December of this year of grace, 1921, as the fourteenth centenary of the birth of one of the greatest saints of the Church, and one of the greatest heroes and statesmen of "the race of Gaedhal Glas son of Nial."

To remind us in good time of that fact come three books, issued almost simultaneously by three publishing firms—of which only one is Irish. At first sight an Irish conscience is inclined to be uneasy at what seems a national omission—more especially as

the author even of the Dublin produced book bears a Scottish patronymic. But perhaps as a Catholic nation we adopt more fully the spirit of the Church, and count that day a man's true *natalis* on which he entered into Life Eternal—in Columcille's case, the 9th June, 597.

In an attractive little volume of 84 pages, with four illustrations, A. B. Ochiltree Ferguson retells, in a simple unpretending way, the oft told tale of Columcille's birth, his angel-haunted childhood and youth, the labours and sorrows of his manhood, the tragedy of his exile and the exquisite idyll of his death. "The moving accident" is not this author's "trade," and the style has little of glamour or glow. But young folk, to whom it is primarily addressed, will not be intrigued by hard words, or frightened away by an imposing show of scholarship; and readers of a riper age will find their criticism disarmed by the little book's utter freedom from all pretence. It is to be regretted that the artist took so little trouble to secure historical and archaeological accuracy in his illustrations.

Miss Lucy Menzies is more ambitious in her aims. She has set herself not only to tell the story of the life of "the founder of the Scottish nation and the Scottish Church," but "to give an account of the times in which he lived and of his influence on the history of our islands. . . . to present in a connected narrative the facts contained in the various early lives of the Saint, and the results arrived at by the researches of modern scholars." To this task she has brought much enthusiasm and much diligence, together with a pleasant gift of smooth narrative. She has studied the "sources" conscientiously; she has sought to replenish the oil of her own lamp from many cruses (neglecting, however, that of Professor Eoin MacNeill, of whose epoch-making researches she seems never even to have heard); she has spent long years in Iona, saturating herself in its atmosphere. But her task was one of extraordinary difficulty, and it is not to be wondered at that she has only achieved with it a moderate amount of success. Some of the most obscure and difficult questions in Irish and early Scottish history must be answered by anyone who aspires to write an authoritative "Life" of St. Columcille, and Miss Menzies, whose work indicates only the most casual and superficial knowledge of the early history of these islands, and a singular deficiency in the faculty of historical criticism, is not the person to accomplish it. Nor has she redeemed her failure in this respect, by any remarkable success in making live for us again the great figure of the Saint,

or evoking the scenes amid which he lived for four-and-thirty years.

For these things we must turn to his first biographer, St. Adamnan ; and Canon Fowler has put us in his debt by publishing in a convenient and elegant form the celebrated *Vita.* (This debt is *not* increased by the "Introduction on Early Irish Church History," a subject on which the Canon betrays only second-hand knowledge, and still less by the "notes," which include among other irrelevances an atrocious stage-Irish "funny story" attributed to an apocryphal "Widow Keelan of Tara"!). Based on the text of Dr. Reeves's superb edition of 1857, this new edition makes, of course, no attempt to displace that "well-nigh exhaustive" work, but is intended for those people to whom Dr. Reeves's book is inaccessible—the great majority of us. It is possible now by the expenditure of a modest half-guinea to read and re-read Adamnan to our heart's desire, to steep ourselves in his "little language" until it seems to us that "we too have been in Arcady"—that we have actually lived amid the scenes which his words—(the "*verba, . . . inculta* et *vilia*" for which he makes rueful apology)—have, to a degree that many a polished stylist might envy, the gift of evoking for us. "*Die fragosae tempestatis et intolerabilis undarum magnitudinis*" ; "*quadam serena aestivi temporis die*"—phrases like those, constantly recurring, give us more of the "atmosphere" of Iona, whether scourged by the fury of the winter's storms, or lapped in the peace of a summer evening, than pages of description. And how wanting in truth and character is any modern portrait of Columcille compared with Adamnan's immortal picture of the "*miles insulanus*," . . "omnibus carus, hilarem semper faciem ostendens . . . aspectu angelicus, sermone nitidus, opere sanctus, ingenio optimus, consilio magnus." Very different from the Columbcille of the "legendaries" like Manus O'Donnell, or modern "psychologists" like Montalembert is the Columcille revealed to us by the *Vita.* No passionate, vindictive, hot-headed "Celt" is shown here, but a great Saint and a great man in the balanced serenity and maturity of his powers, the friend of little boys, of poets, of the poor, the oppressed, the suffering and the sinful, the fierce hater of oppression and wrong, the faithful and still-remembering friend, the loving father of his monks, whom he calls "little sons" in his last tender message, which in this year of sorrow we may take as addressed to all of us : "Haec vobis, o filoli, novissima commendo verba, ut inter vos *mutuam* et *non fictam* habeatis charitatem cum pace."

H. C.

WALTER DE WENLOK, ABBOT OF WESTMINSTER. By Ernest Harold Pearce, Litt.D., F.S.A., Bishop of Worcester. London: S.P.C.K. 1920. 12*s.* net.

The learned Bishop of Worcester, when Canon and Sub-Dean of Westminster, became deeply interested in the Abbey's muniment room, and in particular in the very full documentation of the reign of Walter de Wenlok, Abbot of Westminster from 1284 to 1308. The War and promotion to a diocese both intervened to prevent Dr. Pearce's working out the complete volume on Walter which it was his hope and design to edit: nevertheless he has now given us a book of some 225 pages which, in a somewhat unrounded form, affords us nevertheless an instructive and suggestive glimpse into medieval history. It does so rather as one of the books that tell us what people *were* than as one of those that tell us what they *did*. The events recorded are seldom of serious magnitude or importance. But the personages as they lived, moved and wrought are brought before us with no little realistic vividness. We do not say "as they thought and prayed." The narrative is one of outward, temporal, material business, nor has there been any halo of poetry or sentiment thrown around it.

The Bishop performs his task with (we believe) discrimination and not a few touches of *esprit*. His sources are nothing more exciting than household rolls, ledgers, account-books, business letters—the economic record of the Abbot of a great Benedictine Abbey during a quarter-century out of the heart of the Middle Ages. The tale nevertheless, if prosaic, may stir up thoughts that range far. What an enormous burthen was laid upon the shoulders of these high-placed prelates, these successors of the Benedicts and Basils! They could not (as individuals) well avoid it; they often bore it with credit and utility; but how difficult it must have been to reconcile it with their own higher ideals and traditions! They were often, beyond doubt, "pillars of the commonwealth"; but were they incorporating equally well that more sacred metaphor of "the salt of the earth"? The Abbot of Westminster and many another of dignity like to his were the supreme official representatives before the eyes of their country and generation of the perfect life of poverty and humility. But when the Right Reverend Father administered a score of estates and manors, kept in his regular employ a whole bevy of lawyers' clerks, had his personal service attended to by a private household of over forty persons, and spent his days in the agitations, physical and mental, necessarily resulting from the myriad tangles of his temporal cares—is it wonderful if the Christian

conscience began to cry out badly for the renouncements and the simplicities of a Francis, an A Kempis, an Ignatius ?

Of the great landlord type of monastic superior to which he belonged, Bishop Pearce's hero stands out for us as a highly efficient and estimable, if not wholly lovable, specimen. His travels, his troubles, his attentions to his relatives, his charities, his judicious gifts to the great, his regrettable and long-drawn quarrel with his Prior, all these are educed from the long-faded records of many a minute detail with (as far as we can judge without consulting originals) practised skill and without bias. We have noticed but one phrase to demur to. It is related how a certain monk when at Rome

> obtained, at a price which the abbot may have helped him to defray, an indulgence of forty days to all who prayed for his well-being in this life and for his soul after his death.

Now we have no doubt at all that the monk did not, in any just sense of the word, give any " price " for the indulgence ; and we must regret that an expression savouring of low-class Protestant polemics should have slipped into Dr. Pearce's judicious pages. That people doing business of any kind at Rome had often to put their hands in their pockets to pay expenses and fees in the conduct of their business was a thing inherently reasonable and in fact inevitable. People must live by their business—even at Rome : they do not therefore necessarily put a " price " on sacred and invisible gifts. How huge was in those days the volume of business transacted in the centre of the Christian world, what a torrent of affairs merged thither from all quarters, what big financial as well as other consequences were often involved, is one of the impressions of medieval days and ways which may remain on our minds after we have closed this book. G. O'N.

JOHN FIELD OF DUBLIN. By W. H. Grattan Flood, Mus.Doc. Dublin : Martin Lester. 1920.

IT is always and obviously a labour of love with Dr. Flood to write up the reputation of some unduly neglected Irish musician, all the more if the prowling musicologist of other lands has been trying to snatch away from Ireland whatever glory may still halo the artist. In the case of John Field, born of Irish parents in Golden Lane, Dublin, but frequently claimed in a casual way as " British," nay " English," the Irish historian seems to have been exceptionally in earnest and exceptionally happy. His book is

a careful and neat piece of work, whether we look to its substance or to its setting-forth. It combines brevity with biographical enthusiasm in a degree which is not common. The slender volume is well produced, the initial portrait being particularly successful.

Field's life-story comes out as a rather interesting, if not very cheerful, one. He came into contact with many remarkable people. The precocious lad was the pupil, afterwards the rival, of Clementi ; he taught the piano to Glinka ; in later years he won the enthusiastic praise of Schumann. Yet his life-term fell far short of sixty years. It might well have been longer had not prudence been habitually swamped by "artistic temperament." He was unrivalled in the transitory triumphs of the virtuoso ; of virtuosity his published compositions are in general too redolent ; but he survives and will long survive as the writer of some eight or ten charming little pieces—as the inventor of the "nocturne." The neatly-defined expression of a delicate and sentimental romanticism, the nocturne came ready and very acceptably to the hand of a more ample genius—Chopin.

The brilliant Irishman's remains were laid to rest in Moscow. After eighty-three years his own country has at length raised to him this small but judicious literary memorial. Dr. Grattan Flood's volume deserves a grateful reception from Irishmen and from musicians of all countries. G. O'N.

Celtica.

RUBAIIAT OMAR CAIIAM. Torna do chuir i nGaedhilg. Ath Cliath : Martan Lester. 1920. 2*s.* 6*d.*

CUISLE NA hEIGSE. Eamon Cuirteis do chruinnigh. Ath Cliath : Martan Lester. 1920. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Those who wish to see Gaelic literature freed from the shackles of traditionalism, will welcome Torna's Irish rendering of the *Rubaiyat.* Not that Torna is to be reckoned among the heralds of revolt ; of our present-day writers of Irish he is nearest both in temperament and technique to the masters of the old school. But here he makes his familiar idiom the mouthpiece of unaccustomed thoughts, the vehicle of a strange philosophy. Perhaps his task would have been easier if, like Fitzgerald, he had made his own selection from the quatrains of Omar, and essayed to reproduce in Irish the thought and spirit of the old Persian potter-poet. He has attempted instead the more difficult and, for a poet, far less grateful experiment of making a sufficiently literal translation

of Fitzgerald's version. Considering the exotic nature of the theme with which he had to deal, and the little kin there is between the languages involved, it is astonishing to note how close he has been able to keep not only to the thought but to the expression of the original—this too without infringing on the stern requirements of the Irish metre. The *Rubaiiat* is not the least admirable of Torna's many contributions to Irish literature.

Cuisle na hEigse is an interesting experiment in the way of an anthology of modern Irish verse. The editor has concerned himself only with verse of one type—the pure lyric—and his aim has been to bring together such poems as would best represent the work in that form of the writers of the last two decades. These poems vary from the stark simplicity of *Fornocht*—like the silver beauty of a sudden shaft of winter sunlight—to the rich and tender music of *An Leanbh Báidhte*, of which Pearse wrote that his own prose translation was all inadequate "to render either the deep melody of the original or the exquisite delicacy of its phrase." The younger writers represented in this anthology show a notable tendency to abandon the full-mouthed assonances of the 18th century for the simpler, if more exacting, forms of our earlier poets.

A word of praise is due to Martan Lester for the excellent manner in which both volumes have been produced. C. O'B.

STUDIES IN MODERN IRISH. By Rev. Gerald O'Nolan, M.A. Part II. Dublin: Educational Co. of Ireland. 1920. 6*s.* net.

The teacher of modern Irish has always been at a great disadvantage compared with the teachers of other modern languages owing to the absence of a good *apparatus pedagogicus*. In this little book Fr. O'Nolan has done much to supply the want. He takes some 50 passages from English authors representing a great variety of styles and subject-matters, and gives us Irish versions of them, prefixing to each of his versions hints as to how the thought-content of the passages may be made to run on Irish tracks instead of English ones. The preliminary chapter on the general contrasts between Irish and English expression of thought and feeling is very exhaustive and copiously illustrated by examples. The book will be found very illuminating and stimulating by private students who have made some advance in Irish composition and by teachers of advanced Irish pupils. Whether teachers will think well of putting it in the hands of pupils seems to us doubtful. One would imagine that for school purposes it would have been better not to

print the correct versions, but to publish them in a separate "key" for the use of teachers and private students only.

The fact that all the versions are written in Desmond Irish will not in the least degree lessen the utility of the book for those who are more familiar with other dialects; the principles inculcated and illustrated in the book are equally valid for all forms of the modern language. L. McK.

Classics.

1. *THE MACEDONIAN TETRALOGY OF EURIPIDES.* By Richard Johnson Walker.
2. *EURIPIDEAN FRAGMENTS.* Emended by Richard Johnson Walker.

London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne. 1920. 12*s.* 6*d.* and 7*s.* 6*d.* net.

In quick succession to Mr. Walker's *magnum opus* on the *Ichneutae* of Sophocles reviewed in an earlier issue of Studies, follow two books of a more or less kindred nature, dealing this time with the most modern of the Athenian dramatists, Euripides. "Every schoolboy knows" that the finest of Euripidean and perhaps of all extant Greek dramas, the *Bacchae*, was written at the Macedonian court of Archelaus shortly after the poet left Athens—about 409 B.C. In another drama, *Archelaus*, of which we have only Fragments, Euripides celebrated the legendary head of the Temenid dynasty who had founded the old Macedonian capital. Now from the fragments of this play, the plot of which he reconstructs to his own satisfaction, and from the fragments of three others, which he gives as *Alcmena*, *Temenus* and *Temenides*, Mr. Walker edits a fragmentary "Macedonian Tetralogy," *i.e.*, a group of four plays with a unity of plot—*Archelaus* being the fourth or Satyric play of the group.

In eight preliminary chapters Mr. Walker, with his usual vigour and ingenuity, sets out to prove his thesis, marshalling to his aid his uncommon knowledge of Greek lexicography and his full-garnered stores of Greek mythical and legendary history. Unhappily the blemishes that disfigure his *Ichneutae* reappear here in as crass a form: the airy foundations on which the heavy superstructure of later deductions has to rest; the old mania for emendation, which never cries "enough"; and the well-nigh complete disregard for probability, which immediately challenges dissent and incredulity. Such a heavy strain is put on our sense of the probable from the first, that long before we reach the chapter where he

discusses the Tetralogy, our confidence in Mr. Walker's assertions is severely shaken. But he only waxes more confident, and covers the ground with ever new courage. It is little to be assured that *Archelaus* and *Temenidae* are but different titles for the same play: with a gambler's recklessness he hazards further assertions as to the chorus of twelve in that play and as to its two editions—the whole tetralogy being designed for reproduction in Egypt, probably at Canopus (p. 79). What Mr. Walker sets down as a suggestion in one page appears—*crescit eundo*—as "already sufficiently established" in another (*cf.* pp. 48, 51, 53, 62, etc.). But the chain is only as strong as its weakest link; and to say, after a series of more or less arbitrary assumptions, that he cannot arrive at any other conclusion "without doing violence to tetralogical unity," is a mere *petitio principii*. His strictures on "the Teutons," for whom he appears to have little patience (pp. 50, 76, 77), are very surprising and regrettable. Such literary *Faustrecht* can only discredit sober scholarship.

The Translations in English on the page opposite the text are very good; and though few may be inclined to accept his emendations, his fecundity of suggestion combined with great learning will be of service to many.

In his *Euripidean Fragments* Mr. Walker tries his hand at emendation on a big scale under rather novel circumstances. Instead of the conventional library of classical books, his only companions on the month's sea-voyage during which the first paper (pp. 1-12) was completed, were Nauck's *Tragicorum graecorum Fragmenta*, and Kirchhoff's *Euripides*. For the remaining three papers the isolation of sea-voyage is reproduced on land (Buenos Aires) with the same limited sources of reference as before. Work under such conditions possesses, we agree, "a certain fascination of its own" (p. 13), but may be far from instructive for others. The *disjecta membra* of lost Euripidean dramas, which offer a very peculiar difficulty to the editor and call for extreme reserve in the handling, are for a scholar of Mr. Walker's enthusiasm and resource a very dangerous field for scientific experiment. What may seem to a happy author in a bookless isolation as so many lucky flashes of inspiration can easily be mere eccentricities on the part of the emender.

Mr. Walker in many of his suggested emendations does seem to us to pay little attention to palaeographical requirements and the canons of textual criticism. The subjective element is far too much in evidence. Side by side with many suggestive corrections, we have such eccentricities of reading as are seen in Frags. 163,

271, 543, 555, 605. Even his suggested corrections of Frag. 248, which he regards as "a striking result," and of Frag. 492, to which he invites the special attention of critics as it puts his methods "to a singularly crucial test," may be interesting as literary *tours de force*; but such cavalier treatment of the traditional text can be maintained only by the most arbitrary methods. In Frag. 328 the proposed reading ἱερὸν σώματος στῆλον (*santo pilar*) is quite foreign to Greek thought. In Frag. 591 the obvious text has to make room for a coarse emendation, as gratuitous as it is linguistically un-Greek. His corrections of the well-known Frag. 509: τί δ' ἄλλο; φωνὴ καί σκιὰ γέρων ἀνήρ, and of Frag. 518 on virtuous children, who "even in death are a treasure fair . . . and an imperishable ἀνάθημα βιότου . . ." seem to us singularly infelicitous. Mr. Walker is too fond of importing epicisms and rare words into the text; some of his verbal forms are of extremely doubtful currency (*cf.* Frag. 172, 255, 354, 479). The scansion of the second line in Frag. 941, with its violation of Porson's Pause, is scarcely admissible; so too with Frag. 299 and 656 (tribrach in the fifth foot).

After all his brilliant attempts at restoration and conjecture we are not unprepared for Mr. Walker's theory that the corruptions he finds in Stobaeus (we owe most of our Euripidean Fragments to that author) are "not the results of accidental mistranscription," but, for the most part, are "perfectly deliberate readings hammered out . . . from the metal of the original text" (p. 38). Scribes in the mediaeval period, when apportioning the accents and breathings on the unpointed text, are probably responsible for this state of affairs—a truly desperate conjecture, and admissible only on the hypothesis that the Fragments are as corrupt as Mr. Walker makes them out to be, which is by no means the case. J. J. C.

Economics.

MODERN IRISH TRADE AND INDUSTRY. By E. J. Riordan. With an Historical Introduction by George O'Brien, Litt.D. London: Methuen. 1921. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.

Mr. Riordan is by his office a student of the subject on which he writes. He has been for many years Secretary of the Irish Industrial Development Association, and it has been his duty to inquire into and report upon the varying conditions of the country's industry and trade, and occasionally to take action in promoting them. The statistics with which the book is furnished are taken from Government publications such as the Census of Production,

1907, the returns of the Irish Department of Agriculture, and other authoritative sources. But much information is supplied from Mr. Riordan's own inquiries, and this is by no means the least valuable portion of the book. The period covered begins with the early years of the present century and brings us to the year 1919. By way of introduction, Dr. George O'Brien contributes a review of the vicissitudes of Irish industry during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, into which he has condensed the results of much painstaking research. The facts and figures set out by Mr. Riordan indicate that Ireland is but slowly recovering from the industrial decline which followed the Act of Union. Her agriculture is still her most important source of wealth. But it is only in recent years that progress in this fundamental industry could be reported. During the greater part of the nineteenth century the system of land tenure obstructed all development. The famine and the clearances which followed reduced the number of small occupiers, and down to the end of the century the area under tillage steadily declined. With the coming of the Land Acts and the institution of the Department of Agriculture an improvement set in. During the present century the area of ploughed land has increased by a million acres, and better methods of cultivation have become general. In connection with agriculture Mr. Riordan gives some interesting pages to the recent history of the Irish milling industry and his own successful effort to establish the reputation of Irish flour in its competition with imports from America. He notes also the surprising fact that Ireland, though cultivating in oats a million and a half of her arable acres, imports annually some 140,000 tons of oatmeal, a quantity much in excess of her export.

In manufacturing industries, ship-building shows a steady increase, the production of linen goods has expanded, and the same may be said in reference to woollens.

Brewing, distilling and shipbuilding were, as shown by Dr. O'Brien, the only Irish manufactures "that increased during the fifty years following the Union;" Mr. Riordan's figures prove that the two first have lost nothing of their vitality in the twentieth century.

Mr. Riordan devotes an interesting chapter to the subject of Government contracts during the war, and has little difficulty in showing that Ireland's share, apart from linen supplies which were not obtainable elsewhere, was insignificant. His survey of our present industrial position, and the conditions which he holds essential for adequate development deserve the careful study of every one who thinks and works for the country's material progress.

T. A. F.

A HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH AGRICULTURAL LABOURER, 1870-1920. By F. E. Green. London: King. 1920. 16s. net.

A HISTORY of any nation or of any community, political or not, will as a rule be rich in variety of matter; for the possibilities of social life are too numerous and various for the actualities to be monotonous in their sameness. A country will not always be under arms nor yet will it always be at peace. The triumphs of art may, perhaps, fill one epoch, those of science or administration another. The paragraph announcing the erection of a Byzantine cathedral will rub shoulder with that mourning the decline and fall of the hansom-cab. Life is varied because it is distinctly human; it only becomes monotonous when it becomes more animal than human.

It is with a start then, that we realise that Mr. Green's *History of the English Agricultural Labourer* is really monotonous. Not, let us hasten to say, through any fault of the author. Quite the contrary; for Mr. Green has concealed the essential monotony of his story as well as literary skill could conceal it. But his story is *itself* monotonous; and we find ourselves wondering is it because it is a history of a class of people who have not been leading a distinctly human life, that it is so lacking in variety. As we read this book, picturesquely and pleasingly written as it is, we are conscious of an almost irritating reiteration of one or two notes, like the music we have come to associate with the East or Africa, the tom-tom of a savage concert.

The *History* does not cover two generations of men, so it may be said that there was no time for variety. But these two generations did only one thing, and thought of only one thing, and had only one instinct, the instinct of self-preservation. The only activity of the English agricultural labourers as a class has been to fight for life. The same is true, of course, of most other classes of workers, but not so obviously as of the agricultural workers. In 1870 a labourer was getting 11s. 10d. per week; in 1907 this had risen to 14s. 9d., and on this a man was supposed to live and keep a wife and family. If the economic "subsistence wage" ever existed in fact it could hardly be lower than this. And for all practical purposes this wage was the bare "subsistence wage;" a man was paid what would keep himself and what would enable him to rear a substitute to take his place when he died. So consequently there is little to record save that labourers, like live stock, lived and worked and died. But during the last fifty years the struggle became gradually offensive instead of defensive. Men

slowly stirred themselves not merely to resist death and starvation, but to seek and find life and have it more abundantly. They began to realise that they were not mere animals, but men, and that as such they had some claim to a larger share of the good things of this world than they were getting. Then the old story began. Here and there a more gifted or daring member of the class strove to unite his fellow-workers and to organise a crusade for right. The details of the contest, its noble things and its despicable, can be read in Mr. Green's pages. To-day the labourer is getting 39s. 6d. for a 50-hour week, and though he pays over double what he used to for everything, this wage represents a very substantial advance in prosperity.

Now that the most important class of labourers in any country has time to look around it, we may expect that notable changes will occur. Few people realise how absolutely dependent the whole world is, not on the man who owns the field, nor on him who owns the plough, but on him who guides the plough. E. J. C.

Fiction.

THE RESCUE. By Joseph Conrad. London: Dent. 1920. 9*s.* net.

JOSEPH Conrad is one of the very few writers in history who has achieved real fame in a foreign language. Marcus Aurelius is the only one who achieved greatness. Writers so able as Burns and as Gibbon wholly failed. The Latin writings of Petrarch, Addison and Bacon are forgotten. Pearse, writing both English and Irish, and Maeterlinck, French, were at least writing languages ordinarily spoken in their country. There was indeed one of the Irish Graces, who is famous as an Italian poetess; but the thing is surprisingly rare. When one thinks, for instance, what a mastery so many classical Romans had over Greek, so many of the Greeks over Latin, it is astonishing that only a single one among them could write effectively in a language not his own.

I doubt whether even Conrad has entirely mastered English. He has full command of its strength, but not of its ease. In a language really his own, he would produce greater work. For on the side of emotional description, he has extraordinary power, a power over ideas rather than over words. Conrad is at his best, when he indicates a scene or a speech by a touch here, another there, occasional phrases culled from a long recitation, for instance; the judgment of the nautical enquiry in *Lord Jim* is a good example.

Take his picture in this novel of the English public man, marooned on a savage coast, who continued to wind his watch daily, *though it had lost both hands!* It is a précis of the British Constitution. An expressive term of reviewer's slang—"atmosphere"—certainly does apply in Conrad's case. He absorbs you into his imagined world, much as our own Corkery does. In parts indeed he gives you something of the dullness of real life. At certain points in his novels I always find myself becalmed for a time like one of Conrad's vessels, till at last with a great effort you get back into the stream of action and sail easily along. In one matter, and it is vital to this book, Conrad fails, or perhaps it is we who fail, that is Malay emotions. No doubt he is the only writer of repute who writes of blacks as human beings. To the literature of our boyhood, including Stevenson, coloured people are essentially negative quantities. They serve only to bring out the flashing qualities, good or evil, of the whites moving in the field of their resistance. Conrad is too broad-minded for this. His Malays are real men with politics, virtues and emotions just like Europeans. Yet whether it is that they do not comply with Aristotle's canon of being sufficiently noble personages, or for some other reason, it is hard to feel emotion even in their deepest tragedy, or interest in their most subtle political intrigues. The fault may be with the reader, but Conrad pleases more when he writes of white men.

Roughly speaking, *The Rescue* is the familiar matter of the "Problem Play"—as they called it in the last century—or problem novel, transplanted on to a savage shore. It is the type of romance of which the story of Parnell and Mrs. O'Shea is perhaps the most famous setting, placed amid savage surroundings with Malay aspirations substituted for Irish. And that is the point in which to my seeming it fails. If Lord Salisbury really looked upon the Irish as Hottentots, he must have thought the Parnell story lacking in the elements of real tragedy. This is the defect of *The Rescue* as of the latter part of *Lord Jim*, to which it has so many analogies. To estimate its plot at its true value, Malay politics must become real to you. They must count for more than the coils of a woman's hair, for the tragedy consists in this, that the hero is entangled in those coils to the ruin of his aspirations.

It has been said that modern fiction consists of extraordinary people in commonplace surroundings, as compared with the older wonder-tale in which commonplace knights, incapable of a single unknightly thought, encountered by no means commonplace dragons and the like. Mr. Conrad tries the experiment of bringing the eccentric neurotics and the "strong man," the accepted

dramatis personae of the modern novel, into a savage wonderland, where they get stranded on sandbanks, are blown up, fight their way into stockades, have to deal with savages, jungles, Mahometans, and, in fact, all the well-known properties of an adventure story. Despite much brilliant description and really clever character drawing this effort to achieve novelty by a combination of two hackneyed ideas is not satisfactory. Mr. Conrad depicts for us the great relief of the Mahometan ruler, when he politely bowed out the whole of the "problem play" people from his stockade, and returned to Allah and the simple life. Conrad at his best is a realist; this is a very realistic touch. I can thoroughly sympathise with the poor potentate and his unuttered aspiration that the well-known characters of English fiction would stay at home, or if they did start out on tour, would not venture east of Simla.

A. E. C.

HOLY ROMANS. By Aodh de Blácam. Dublin: Maunsel. 1920. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.

CALLAGHAN. By F. Winthrop. Dublin: Martin Lester. 1921. 6*s.* 6*d.* net.

WHEN YOUTH MEETS YOUTH. By M. McDonnell Bodkin, K.C. Dublin: Talbot Press. 1920. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.

No one can complain that there is at the moment a dearth of novels about Ireland written by Irishmen. Here we have three books all dealing with modern Irish life—two by authors already well known, while in the case of the third a doubt assails me as to whether "F. Winthrop" is not an alias or, to use a more suitable expression, a *nom de plume*. *Holy Romans* and *Callaghan* have many points in common. Both deal with the political conditions of modern days; both are emphatically of that propagandist order with which we are almost painfully familiar; both are decidedly in sympathy with the aims of the popular party of the hour. Judge Bodkin's book is of another kind.

It has been said that, notwithstanding some brilliant Irish or Anglo-Irish exceptions, the genius of our race does not display itself in the writing of novels. There is a good deal of truth in this statement. The critical capacity of Irish people finds greater scope in the essay or the pamphlet. *Holy Romans* is a further case in point. Mr. de Blácam (if he will forgive me for employing an English title as a prefix to his Gaelic cognomen) is not a novelist by profession, and this book of his arouses all the more interest for that reason. None the less, he has succeeded in writing quite a good story,

marred a little by something jejune in its quality. He gives us what is evidently a personal experience of life among the London Irish, and sketches for us the early days of the Gaelic League in that city. Later, he takes us to Donegal and depicts the beginnings there of a co-operative movement. Easter Week, 1916, provides the climax for his tale. It will be seen that he covers no inconsiderable amount of ground.

His hero, Shane, is a somewhat shadowy fellow, and the canting Samuel Armstrong seems, at least to those unfamiliar with the type, rather overdrawn. The feminine characters, particularly the captivating Maiwa, are more real and alive ; but the book interests, not so much by its *dramatis personae*, as by the study of certain aspects of Irish life and the gradual approach of Shane Lambert to the light. In other words, the propagandist note is the dominant one. Mr. de Blácam introduces Parnell into a short scene which might have been worked into one more gripping. (Incidentally, it may be remarked that Parnell's beard was not black.)

Callaghan is more of a story as the word is ordinarily understood. Indeed, it is a very good story. The political bias may prove unpleasant to those opposed to Sinn Fein, and the references to the late John Redmond (albeit quite natural as coming from the lips of Callaghan) are certain to offend many. Callaghan, the "returned Yank," is a forceful character ; but the laxity of his views and conduct as a Catholic will not commend itself to those who believe in a rigid observance of the Precepts of the Church. In this book the author brings us to the brink of Easter Week, 1916. His description of the years immediately preceding that epoch-making crisis is vivid and accurate. Frances, the Protestant young lady who becomes Callaghan's wife, is a girl who succeeds in arousing the reader's interest, and the account of her experiences as a "Suffragette" in Dublin makes excellent reading. But in this book, as in *Holy Romans*, one feels that the author is more concerned to put forward a point of view than to present psychological studies of men and women.

Altogether different in tone from the foregoing is Judge Bodkin's cheery tale. Here we have no striving to do more than to write a pleasant novel, and Mr. Bodkin has successfully achieved this result. *When Youth Meets Youth*, after a few chapters dealing with school life, is frankly a boy and girl romance wholly devoid of eroticism, but full of those misunderstandings, lovers' quarrels, and so forth that make such agreeable ingredients in a work of this kind. The plan of telling the story twice—from the boy's point of view and then from the girl's—is

not entirely new and runs the risk of inducing the tedium which results from a twice-told tale. The ignorance of the hero in regard to the elementary rules governing the making of a will could not be surpassed by a Judge of the High Court.

WILLIAM DAWSON.

History.

MATERIALS FOR THE HISTORY OF THE FRANCISCAN PROVINCE OF IRELAND, 1230-1450. Collected and edited by Father E. B. Fitzmaurice, O.F.M., and A. G. Little. Manchester: University Press. 1920.

AT the request of the British Society of Franciscan Studies, the late Father E. B. Fitzmaurice, O.F.M., undertook to publish a calendar of extracts bearing on the early history of the Irish Franciscan Province, drawn from the original sources or, in default of these, from the best and earliest secondary sources available. When Father Fitzmaurice died at Waterford in 1913, the task of completing the material he had collected and of seeing it through the press was assigned to Professor A. G. Little, the editor of the present volume.

The diligence of these two distinguished scholars is deserving of all praise. Their work is characterized by extensive research, painstaking accuracy, critical impartiality and judicious brevity. The story of the coming of the Friars to Ireland, of the spread of the Order and the foundation of new Convents is retold, and lists are given of the Provincial Chapters held, of the Superiors or Ministers Provincial who ruled the Province, and of the Franciscans who became bishops in Ireland from 1230 to 1450. The editors, however, have not confined themselves to these dry annalistic records: items of the most varied interest are crowded into these 200 pages.

The tradition which would assign the foundation of the Irish Franciscan Province (or rather the arrival of the first Franciscan in Ireland) to the year 1214, during the lifetime of St. Francis, is here held to be unproven, and the honour of being the first Franciscan to reach Ireland is given to Richard of Ingworth who came from England in 1231 or 1232. Be that as it may, the spread of the Order was rapid. More than a dozen convents were in existence thirty years later, and every decade added to their number. These convents were for the most part situated in Anglo-Norman settlements, and the vast majority of the members belonged at first to that race.

Irish names appear already before 1250, and the Irish subjects must have increased rapidly, for in 1285 they began to assert themselves. For over thirty years the struggle between the Irish and the English or rather Anglo-Irish friars waxed fast and furious. In the following generation (c. 1350) the Irish seem to have predominated in the Province ; but the first Provincial with an unmistakable Irish name, William O'Reilly, appears only a hundred years later. It will thus be seen that the increase of the Irish in the Province proceeded *pari passu* with the revival of the Irish Nation, beginning under Brian O'Neill, and coming to a head under Donnchadh O'Neill and Edward Bruce. Consequently it is natural that the first signs of the change should be found in the complaints of Court Bishops and royal officials. Thus as early as 1285 the Irish friars are accused of " making much of the Irish language " and of " always preaching against the King " of England : and the Bishop of Kildare (1283-99) charges them with holding " that the Irish princes and their Irish-speaking subjects are justified according to human and divine law in fighting for their native land and attacking the English conquerors of Ireland with all their forces." The English friars were violent in their denunciations. Friar Malachy of Limerick, in his work *De Veneno*, alluding to the absence of poisonous animals in Ireland, says that in Ireland the poison is in the man and not in the beast. Worse still is the language of Friar Symon, brother of the Bishop of Connor, who in 1315 asserted in the presence of Edward Bruce that " it is not a sin to kill an Irishman, and that if he himself did so, he would not on that account abstain from celebrating Mass." This unchristian doctrine was not only not unusual among the Anglo-Norman bishops, clergy, and religious, but was by some of them actually put in practice.

Where feeling ran so high it is not surprising to read that the two parties came to blows at the Chapter of the Province held in Cork, June 10, 1291—" at which the Irish friars appeared, armed with a papal bull, about which a dispute arose, and they fought against the English. When many had been killed and wounded on both sides, the English at length with the help of the citizens got the upper hand to the scandal of the Order." As it is an English annalist who is writing, it is not quite clear whether the scandal was given by the friars fighting among themselves, or by the English friars calling in outside help.

When the Irish reaction came to a head under Edward Bruce, we learn the attitude of the Irish friars from the complaints addressed by Edward II. of England to the Minister-General of the Order and to the Pope. To the former he writes : " The Irish friars

of your Order . . . have not yet ceased inciting the Irish laity in every way they can to rebel against us and to join the said Scots who have entered the said land as enemies " (20 Aug., 1316). The appeal of the English King to the Pope (4 Jan., 1317), couched in similar language, succeeded in procuring an excommunication against the said friars, dated 10 April, 1317.

A curious light is thrown upon the frequency of excommunication in the 14th century and of the little effect it produced by Ralph, Archbishop of Armagh, who complains that of two thousand persons who incurred excommunication every year in his diocese, hardly forty a year came to him or his penitentiaries for absolution ; all the rest were absolved, or said they were absolved, by the friars (1357-59).

The records published here bear testimony to the wanderings of Irish friars in foreign parts, not only for purposes of study, but also on distant missionary enterprises. We learn for instance that two Irish friars, Odo de Ymbernia et Dyonisius de Ymbernia, were among the 84 friars of the Convent of Paris who were present at the appeal of Philip the Fair to a future Council and a lawful Pope (1303, 25 June). In 1375 two friars, Marianus Curydany and Laur. O Morth, went from the Convent of Clonroad, Ennis, to study at Strassburg in Germany. James O Dalaich de Hibernia, a cleric of the diocese of Enachdun and professed O.F.M., went to Würzburg in 1304 and entered the ancient Irish Benedictine Monastery of St. James *extra muros*. His Superiors in Ireland declared him excommunicated by thus departing without permission. So he appealed to the Pope and got absolution. From this letter (13 Nov. 1310) we learn that this Monastery at Würzburg was bound to receive any religious of any Order, provided he was a true Irishman or of Irish birth.

Two Irish friars wandered farther afield. Friar James de Ibernia accompanied Odoric de Pordenone or Friuli in his travels through Persia, India, Sumatra, Java, China and Thibet between 1316 and 1330 ; while Friar Symon Semeonis has left us a detailed account of a pilgrimage he made from Ireland to the Holy Land in company with Hugo Illuminator. They left Ireland, 16 March, 1323. Hugh died at Cairo in the house of a Saracen, 22 Oct., 1324, and Symon reached Jerusalem about 9 Dec., following. Fr. Symon was an acute observer of manners and customs. Among many other interesting things he tells us that the Arab horses " are not big and strong like warhorses, but fast and spirited, and just like the horses of the Irish boys ; " and that polo as played by the Sultan and his admirals is like the hurling played by shepherds in Christian countries, except that it is played on horseback.

That accidents, however, could happen at a hurling match, even when played by clerics, is proven by a letter of Pope Martin V to Cormac O Callanain, canon of Enachdun (4 March, 1426), ordering him to dispense Friar William Pulard, O.F.M., of Lymclar [? Villa Clar, *i.e.*, ClareGalway], in the diocese of Enachdun, if the facts are as stated in his petition: namely that William being then a priest, when playing with many other clerks and laymen a game customary in those parts among both seculars and religious, accidentally struck another player, Donald O Haschin, a layman, near the ear with a pointed stick, from which wound Donald a year later, owing to his own and his surgeon's carelessness, died.

The sermon of Friar Thomas O Quin (afterwards Bishop of Elphin, 1252) is a good example of the popular style of the early Irish Franciscan preacher. He was in Connacht preaching, about the year 1250, while a pestilence was raging in that Province. The terror-stricken peasantry imagined that, while they were at work in the fields or in the woods, they saw armies of devils passing to and fro and fighting among themselves; and all who saw them sickened and died. Gathering a big crowd of people around him, Friar Thomas pointed out to them that it was in punishment of their lack of faith that God gave the devils such power over them.

> If you had firm faith and believed firmly that they can do nothing but what God allows, and if you will amend your lives and ask the Lord earnestly to defend you from their snares, you may be certain that they will have no power against you. You know and see that we, the friars, do more against them, and say worse things of them than anybody else in the world. I am standing here, and saying all these bad things about them, and preaching, and I tell them to come on and do whatever they can to me. Let the devils come if they dare! Let them all come! Why do they not come? What are they doing? Where are they? I fling this insulting challenge at them in the ears of the whole people.

And we are told that from that hour the devils vanished and never appeared there again, and that the pestilence ceased at the same time.

JOHN MACERLEAN.

THE IDEA OF PROGRESS. By J. B. Bury, Professor of Modern History, Cambridge. London: Macmillan. 1920. 14*s.* net.

LIKE Dr. Murray, whose book we reviewed in the last issue, Professor Bury seems to inherit his predecessor's interest in the problems of Freedom of Thought and Progress. Yet we doubt if they have for him the all-permeating significance that they had

for Lord Acton, for whom they constituted the key to modern history. And this is all to the good—for the treatment of them is apt to impress one as lacking reality, historians being perhaps inclined to attach exaggerated influence as regards practical effect to the rather abstract expositions of "leaders of thought." On this account the effect is frequently mistaken for the cause, and a "theory" which is often much more the outcome and expression of concrete circumstances than their cause is treated as if it were the sole agent.

There was already in the field, in the shape of a volume by M. Delvaille, a somewhat more ambitious attempt than Professor Bury's to give a history of the Idea of Progress. But it only comes down to the end of the eighteenth century, and certainly deserves our author's criticism of lacking discrimination in its anxiety to press altogether too many great names—ancient, medieval and modern—into the lists of believers in Progress. Professor Bury is more critical in his choice of material, the result being that a much more definite impression is left on the reader's mind. One would have preferred a little more prodigality on his part, in dealing with the nineteenth century: indeed here, where a comparatively fuller treatment might have been expected, there is a marked falling away in the material drawn upon. Particularly scanty is the consideration of the connection of German idealism with the vogue of the idea of Progress. Rousseau suffers from the same fate, and one feels that the significance of his attack on the idea is not grasped. It is in this case that one is forced to wonder whether the author's judicially non-committal attitude on the truth or falsity of the notion, and his repeated critical reservations are really more than skin-deep. Yet within its limits there is no doubt that the account given of the growth of the idea is, on the whole, trustworthy, and makes very agreeable reading. Slips like the reference to the Declaration of the Rights of Man on the 4th of August are of precisely the nature to make the reader a little uneasy.

Notwithstanding Professor Bury's determination to keep himself free from all metaphysical questions, the reader after awhile begins to feel the influence of a leaning in favour of "Science," *i.e.*, of a naturalistic metaphysic which claims to identify itself with scientific results. This shows itself mainly in the failure to appreciate arguments which are not "scientific." Furthermore, one would like to investigate the claim he makes to write a history of the genesis and growth of this idea without bothering about the question of its truth or value? How can this be done if the

history is not to be reduced to a mere chronicle of opinions ? Does Professor Bury assume that the truth of an idea has no influence in gaining it acceptance ? Is its emergence and growth purely psychological or non-rational ? To give a positive answer to these last two questions would be quite in accordance with the modern spirit, but let us not imagine that it implies no metaphysic.

He cannot be accused of not attempting to fix a fairly definite meaning to the idea of Progress. But it would be difficult to understand his insistance that the hope of indefinite advance belongs to its essence, unless we bear in mind that it is in Progress as a counter-religion to Christianity with its conception of Providence that he is interested. It certainly dispenses the author from an examination of medieval thought, but no attempt is made to examine whether the idea so conceived is not self-contradictory ; and certainly as an ethical factor to compete with immortality it is hardly even hinted—certainly not proved—that the perfection of the race in the indefinite future has any rational value.

It may be of interest to remark that, in the appendix to his volume on Luther and Erasmus, Dr. Murray quotes a famous Ode of Shelley as illustrating a Greek conception which was quite inimical to the emergence of the idea of progress, whereas Professor Bury refers to the same Ode as inspired by the Godwins' dreams of human perfectability. J. M. O'Sullivan.

THE IRISH WARS. By J. J. O'Connell, M.A. Dublin : Martin Lester. 1920. 5*s.* net.

IRISH HISTORY FOR JUNIOR GRADE CLASSES. By Helena Concannon, M.A. Dublin : Fallon 1921. 3*s.* 6*d.* net.

We shall be surprised and disappointed if these two books on historical subjects do not themselves make history. They are signs of the times ; they spring out of the present consciousness of Ireland ; and they point the way to a better future. For they mean that Irish history is receiving the attention it deserves from competent historians friendly to the Irish cause, thoroughly in sympathy with the Irish standpoint. So far, Irish history has been written either by enemies of Ireland or by men who took the evidence of enemies too easily for granted. They looked on Ireland as a planet revolving round a sun, and that sun was England ; and they hardly ever hinted that Ireland had a culture and a civilisation peculiarly her own, or that anything ever happened in this country beyond the perpetual wars against the English and their agents. These books have other standards.

Mr. O'Connell does not make an exhaustive survey of Irish military history; he does not describe in detail the operations of a single Irish war. He does not pretend to write for the professional soldier; nor does he give the general reader as much information as other "popular" military histories, not so much, for example, as Townsend Warner's "How Wars Were Won." It is, therefore, difficult to place the book on its own merits. In the Preface, the author says his "idea is to present an outline of Irish military history divested of all political, social or economic complications." In other words, he has written a short Irish history, leaving out everything except the wars. But the wars themselves might have been described as fully as Mr. O'Connell describes them by an historian writing a large general history of the country.

To be sure, Mr. O'Connell does give some special instruction on the military topography of Ireland, and in the course of his narrative he lays stress on certain military axioms too often ignored. But even here he never goes beyond the elements of his subject. However, he is a pioneer in thus treating his country's history at all; for this, we think, is the first time the Irish wars have been studied and described by one who knows what a soldier would look for in them. Here is a beginning; and Mr. O'Connell's labour will not have been in vain if, as he hopes, the book "directs Irish opinion towards a much neglected aspect of the country's history." It should, in any event, prove useful to the teacher who is too prone, perhaps, to regard Irish battles as meaningless episodes occurring fortuitously in certain places which have acquired, as a result, a sad notoriety. He will learn that from the Norse invasion to the Rebellion of '98, campaigning in Ireland has followed broad but definite lines.

Mrs. Concannon, too, is a pioneer in a field where her labours were badly needed. She goes for her information as much, if not more, to Irish than English sources—to the Four Masters, and O'Daly, and Professor Eoin MacNeill as well as to Stanihurst and Fynes Moryson (who, by the way, comes in for well-merited castigation). She tells us, moreover, of Peter White and Fr. Luke Wadding, names rarely met with in Irish histories for the young. All through Mrs. Concannon casts her net wider than is usual in the school books to which we have been accustomed, just because she gives all the information which should interest an Irish boy or girl, whether it have any reference to England or not. In fact, she never misses an opportunity of placing Ireland in her due station in European politics. And, all through, Mrs. Concannon applies the critical principles which our people have always held,

which they use even to-day, but which historians do not employ. There is a defence, an able defence of Shane the Proud, during which the young are warned not to put faith in English accounts of their enemies. How simple and continuous English policy is, is insisted upon—divide, conquer, and reward Irish supporters. "Let not any of my men be daunted," wrote Elizabeth to her deputy while Shane was yet alive; "tell them that if he arise, it will be for their advantage: *for there will be estates for them who want.*" The italics are Mrs. Concannon's; and they show after what manner she is writing the history of Tudor Ireland. We felt, too, that a new spirit was abroad when we read, in this little Junior Grade History, the fine sneer of one of Shane's men: "Thinketh thou that it standeth with O'Neill his honour to writhe his mouth in chattering English?" And all through, criticism, sarcasm, eulogy, the old standards of judgment native to the Irish soul, are expressed in phrases current in our own time, phrases thrown up by the circumstances among which we move. "The paper wall," "propaganda," "atrocities," existed when Henry VIII and Elizabeth strove for the conquest of Ireland. As a result, this history is real, stimulating, alive: and it is accurate.

The historical geography at the end is as complete as one could wish. The maps are numerous and excellent. We cannot recommend this book too highly to teachers in Intermediate schools. In fact, no teacher who has not studied it, is fully equipped. It is the only book of its kind; and this kind of book is essential. If Mrs. Concannon's arrangement, if the minute detail, prove embarrassing, the difficulty can easily be removed by reading, concurrently with this new history. Walpole's "Kingdom of Ireland," which moves with a more open stride and is more chronological. Walpole will provide the simple scaffolding within which, with the invaluable assistance of Mrs. Concannon, a thoroughly sound, interesting and suggestive course of Irish history can now be given by every teacher to the Junior Grade pupils in our schools.

J. E. C.

SPANISH INFLUENCES IN SCOTTISH HISTORY. By John R. Elder, M.A., D.Litt. Glasgow: Maclehose, Jackson and Co. 1920. 12*s.* 6*d.* net.

In modern times the writing of history tends inevitably towards specialisation. To some this statement may seem surprising in view of the many works of general history which have recently appeared in England. But although Mr. Wells may occupy his leisure moments—in the intervals between novels and newspaper

articles—in presenting us with a "history" of the world, no serious historical student will deny that, owing to the enormous and ever-increasing amount of material which confronts the historian of to-day, the writing of anything in the nature of a general history is attended with difficulties which are practically insuperable.

The present work is an illustration. Professor Elder has wisely refrained from attempting a general history of Scotland during the period of which he writes (1488-1603); he has confined himself to a particular department—foreign affairs; and in that department he has further restricted himself to a particular sub-division—the relations between Scotland and Spain. Of these he has given us a conscientious but not over-interesting summary. In justice to him, however, it must be said that the relations between the two countries, save during that intense period when Mary Stuart was fighting for crown and life, are not marked by any features of especial interest. A number of inglorious intrigues between a sluggish monarch and a corrupt native nobility; half-hearted negotiations in which neither side seem to have been sincere; and finally, the tortuous duplicity with which a treacherous, self-seeking young man, James of Scotland, succeeded in playing off one party against the other, and thoroughly fooling both—these form the subject-matter of Professor Elder's book; and although the latter is by no means without its value to historical students, it will hardly prove of much interest to the ordinary reader.

Its chief defect is its incompleteness. This is the more unfortunate when we consider that the work will in all likelihood be regarded as the text-book in this domain of Scottish history. It is, therefore, distressing to find the events of 130 years crammed into 300 pages; more distressing still to note that the author has left a few valuable sources of information untapped. Obviously he has not consulted the Spanish archives, but has contented himself with the rather meagre transcripts in the London Record Office. The Vatican archives also contain much that is valuable and interesting with reference to the intrigues of the Scottish Catholics with Rome, Spain, and France. The most important of these papers are to be found among the Roman Transcripts in London. With the exception of a few quotations from the published Calendar (dealing only with the events of twelve years) our author has completely ignored them.

On the general accuracy of the work I am not qualified to speak. Professor Elder's opinions, though not openly expressed, are not difficult to read. Like the godly followers of John Knox, he sees in the defeat of the Spanish schemes a clear manifestation of the

Divine approval of the Kirk and its savage persecution ; and he evidently regards with unmixed satisfaction the union with England which, while it completed the downfall of a proud and ancient nation, handed over the care of men's consciences to the tender mercies of the Company of the Saints.

While dealing with the Spanish Armada the author repeats (p. 160) the threadbare calumny of the massacre of the shipwrecked Spaniards by the "wild Irish." This cowardly lie, invented by a cunning English deputy to sow dissension between Ireland and its great ally, and joyfully adopted by Froude and others to support their theories of Irish savagery, has been more than once refuted—by none more crushingly than Mrs. A. S. Green in a former article in this Review.[1] D. A. B.

Philosophy.

COURS DE PHILOSOPHIE. Par le Père Ch. Lahr, S.J. 23e édition. Paris : Gabriel Beauchesne. 1920.

Fr. Lahr's *Cours de Philosophie*, since its first appearance in 1901, has been several times revised and brought up-to-date. In the present edition the book is completely recast. The work of revision was continued under the author's direction during his last illness, and was not quite completed at his death.

The book is primarily intended for the use of students preparing for the *Baccalauréat ès lettres*. This fact explains, among other things, certain peculiarities in the arrangement of the matter. If the author were not following the order of an official programme, he would, we presume, have treated the question of Scepticism in the section on Criteriology rather than in the section on Metaphysics.

Though the book was written to meet the needs of a special class of students, it will be found very useful by all students of Scholastic Philosophy. It treats very lucidly all the questions dealt with in the ordinary manuals, and in addition touches on many interesting subjects that are not even mentioned in them.

In the section on Ethics, Fr. Lahr has a long and important chapter on Economic Ethics (*la Morale économique*). We recommend the study of this chapter to all who are anxious to get clear ideas on the subject. A slight reserve has to be made with regard to the treatment of the "Social Question." Fr. Lahr follows very closely the teaching of Leo XIII. It is to be regretted, however, that he takes no notice of the most fruitful of the Pope's practical

[1] *Studies*, March, 1918.

suggestions. In the encyclical *Rerum Novarum* we read :—"The law ought . . . to secure, as far as it can be done, that as many of the people as possible should seek to possess property." The Pope indicates how the extension of ownership is to be brought about. The workman is to save up. He can easily do so "if his wages are sufficient to maintain him with his wife and children comfortably." The workman's savings are, of course, to be invested. The Pope contemplates only the case of investment in land, on which the workman is to settle down and which he is to cultivate personally. But, it is evident that a workman might become the owner, or at least part owner, of other kinds of property in exactly the same way. P. B.

A HISTORY OF ENGLISH PHILOSOPHY. By W. R. Sorley, Litt.D., LL.D., Professor in the University of Cambridge. London : Cambridge University Press. 1920. 20*s.* net.

THIS volume follows out English (including Irish and Scottish) philosophy from its beginnings in the Middle Ages up to the year 1900. The early important philosophers Erigena, Duns Scotus, Ockham, etc., are, however, only briefly referred to ; and the present-day or very recent philosophers are only summarily characterised. The book is written in a literary, narrative style, and is much easier reading than the ordinary histories of philosophy. It differs from most of these in its method. Instead of tracing out the development of ideas in the light of a few fundamental problems, it aims, rather, at giving an objective account of each system in its historical setting. This method is, indeed, peculiarly appropriate to English philosophy, in which there has been a minimum of continuous development, very little grouping of writers into schools, and much individuality. The style is also appropriate to the subject ; for in England philosophy has been less learned, less academic, than in other countries. Many of the leading philosophers were either gentlemen of leisure or busy men of affairs. They discussed philosophical questions in an untechnical manner, and several were distinguished stylists. They were, moreover, not philosophers merely ; many were equally interested in economics, politics, or theology. This is the justification for another feature of the book : it does not draw a sharp boundary line round philosophical questions, but gives an account of border discussions into which they merged Thus we are given a truer-to-life picture of each system ; and just a sufficient amount of biographical detail is supplied. Perhaps the most distinguishing characteristic of this history is the attention

given to the minor writers and secondary movements. The outstanding philosophers are dealt with comparatively briefly—only a very clear exposition of their essential tenets being given. Every philosophical schoolboy knows the salient views of Bacon, Locke, Berkeley and Hume; but most students will be grateful to the author for filling up some blank spaces in their knowledge by the extended treatment accorded to Herbert of Cherbury, Hobbes, the Deists, the Cambridge Platonists, the Economists, and Bentham. A comparative chronological table is added, giving the dates of the chief works in English philosophy, along with the dates of some other writings, English and foreign, and of some leading events. A very full bibliography gives the chief works, with dates, of all the philosophers mentioned and of others who are not referred to in the book. J. S.

Poetry.

A STRING OF SAPPHIRES: Being Mysteries of the Life and Death of our Blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Put into English rhyme for the young and simple by Helen Parry Eden. London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne. 1920. 10*s.* 6*d.* net.

EVEN the best-intentioned criticisms sometimes come home to roost. When I reviewed Mrs. Eden's *Rhyme of the Servants of Mary*, more than a year ago, in the pages of STUDIES I ventured to beg her to abandon the writing of religious poetry and to return to the manner of her earlier books, *Bread and Circuses* and *Coal and Candlelight*. My presumptuous advice is answered by an effort on Mrs. Parry's part to re-tell in verse the story of the life of our Lord. She declares her effort to have been made on behalf of the young and simple; but that did not lessen the stupendous difficulties of her task. It is impossible to imagine one more difficult. The unquestionably great success which Mrs. Eden has achieved is due to qualities of art, scholarship and devotion such as are rarely found united in the one individual.

The title of the book is suggested by the text: "O poor little one, tossed with tempest, without all comfort, behold, I will lay thy stones in order, and will lay thy foundations with sapphires." It consists of a short, prose preface; a prologue, an argument, forty-nine cantos and an epilogue, in a rhyming, ballad mode; and an appendix of notes and commentary, copiously larded with quotations from the Fathers and intended more particularly for the sophisticated. The verse runs to about four thousand lines. Mrs. Eden modestly explains that she employs rhyme, rhythm and alliteration merely as aids to memory. Her verse will remain

fresh in the memories of many of her readers as much for the felicity of its form as for the nobility of its content.

It maintains a consistently high level from start to finish. The author's three great difficulties must have been : the rendering of the duller portions of the gospel story ; the rendering, without undue addition or subtraction, of our Lord's own sayings ; and the brief touches of almost ejaculatory description with which she secures the stir and colour so necessary in any narrative destined to engross a child.

A catalogue of the names of the twelve apostles is uncompromising material for poetry. Here is how Mrs. Eden turns it to good purpose :—

> These are the twelve apostles' names :
> Simon (called Peter), John and James
> (Whom Christ most kept about Him).
> Bartholomew (whom some folk guess
> To be Nathaniel), James the Less,
> Thomas (who was to doubt Him).
> Andrew and Philip, Matthew (he
> Who took the tolls in Galilee,
> And when our Lord said, "Follow Me,"
> Left all things and obeyed Him),
> Simon Zelotes (tenth) and Jude
> (Eleventh of that brotherhood),
> And Judas (who betrayed Him).

The beginning of our Lord's speech to the women of Jerusalem is rendered :—

> "O daughters of Jerusalem
> Weep not for me, but shed
> Tears for your children and yourselves
> In the dark days ahead,
> When men shall say her lot is good
> Who never knew of motherhood
> Or nursed a child," He said.

The canto of the Way of the Cross commences :—

> Only a thousand steps to go,
> But O so hard to tread ;
> Only a thousand steps to go
> Until He should be dead.
> The Roman soldiers went before,
> The Jews behind, and Jesus bore
> The cross upon His back, and wore
> The thorns upon His head.

These quotations give a fair taste of Mrs. Eden's quality : and they are taken almost at random. In view of the beauty and brilliancy of the *String of Sapphires* I will not dare again to venture suggestions as to how its author should employ her talents in the future. And yet, I, and, doubtless, numerous others of her admirers, will continue to hanker for something more about Betsy, Malkin, Four-paws or Effany that would bring back the wonder and pleasure we found, for the first time, nearly seven years ago, in *Bread and Circuses*.

THOMAS BODKIN.

THE BOOK OF SAINT ULTAN: A Collection of Pictures and Poems by Irish Artists and Writers. Dublin: Martin Lester. 1920. 5*s*. Sold for the Benefit of St. Ultan's Hospital.

Is there any better value to be had among books at present than this Leabair Ultáin? We greatly doubt it. For five shillings one gets over thirty pages of beautiful paper whereon are printed pictures and poems by a happily-blended combination of Irish poets and graphic artists, who work towards an agreeable unity as if they were members of a well-trained chorus. And—not to speak of doing honour to St. Ultan, about whom when we open the volume we probably know nothing at all—we have the notable additional pleasure of knowing that we are helping by our purchase St. Ultan's Hospital—an institution which must appeal most strongly both to our sentiments and to our sense of the practical. Concerning St. Ultan and his hospitals we are pleasantly informed in the first few pages of the volume. While turning them over we can look at a reproduction of a picture by "Æ"; the original must, we fancy, have been one of the best things "Æ" has ever painted. As we proceed, we find that other well-known contributors are also in excellent vein. Patrick Tuohy's "Portrait Study" well illustrates the manly directness of this artist's manner. Cecil Salkeld contributes a contrasting piece of weird imagination. An Craoibín reflects Irish melancholy in his Caoineadh; Susan Mitchell tinges regrets with eternal foreshadowings in a heartfelt and heart-touching little piece; Katherine MacCormack, who has brought together and arranged the whole, contributes two pleasant pages blended of her own poetry and pencil-work. Other readers may select, and perhaps with good reason, other pieces as their favourites out of St. Ultan's Book. But we have, in indicating our own, perhaps said enough to induce our readers not to overlook a combination so remarkable for variety and charm, so strong in its national and charitable appeal. G. O'N.

Religion.

CHRISTIAN MONASTICISM IN EGYPT TO THE CLOSE OF THE FOURTH CENTURY. By the Rev. W. H. Mackean, D.D. London: S.P.C.K. 1920. 8*s*. net.

THE RULE OF ST. BENEDICT. By the Rt. Rev. Dom Paul Delatte. Translated by Dom Justin McCann. London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne. 1921. 21*s*. net.

These two books, unequal in size and scope, nevertheless supplement each other, and a reader who will add to them Dom Gougaud's

Les Chrétientés Celtiques and make his own the contents of all three will have effectually brought up-to-date his general knowledge of early Christian monasticism. Dr. Mackean's 156 pages embrace a very wide field and condense a considerable quantity of accurate information. The best sources appear to have been conscientiously drawn from; the author's conjectures and conclusions give proof of moderation and sound judgment. As a narrator and vulgariser he is much less happy: many important topics are hurried over in a breathless and unsatisfactory fashion. This may be felt in the earlier sections that deal with pre-Christian and non-Christian asceticism and its relations, real or supposed, with Christian asceticism—a big subject which cannot easily be compressed into a score of octavo pages. It is still more notable in the attempt to sum up in a single page the grave matter of the Egyptian hermits' church-goings and Holy Communions. Here, as in other cases, the author's conclusions do not even fairly represent the value of the facts gathered by himself and scattered throughout his book.

The chapters most interesting to scholars, as they are the most original, will be those dealing with ancient Egyptian conventual life—"monasticism" in the commonly-accepted sense of that somewhat ill-used word. Since the time of Cassian, who almost entirely confined his attention to the hermits—more or less strict solitaries—the great (often immense) communities of Pachomian and other monks have been seldom or inadequately written of. Dr. Mackean does a good deal, in a summary way, to fill up this *lacuna*. Incidentally he brings before us some interesting personalities—well-known ones like Antony, little-known ones like Schenoudi (or Sinuthius)—that dominating Coptic abbot who ruled hundreds of monks with a rod more iron than paternal, and continued to rule till he was nearly 118 years old. Much that we are told of Schenoudi's "White Monastery" and of other Egyptian communities is obviously alike or akin to the practices which flourished in the West under the Columban discipline.

A contrast alike to Egyptian and Columban methods is pictured in the substantial commentary which now lies before us on the Rule of St. Benedict. It was a rule, as St. Gregory the Great wrote of it, "remarkable for discretion and rich in instruction;" and the commentary brings out well the change which St. Benedict, without in the least designing a revolution, was led to introduce into the religious life of his time by the very "discretion" and adaptability of his Rule; while we also hear something of the historic evolution which the Rule has actually known and the difficulties which it has encountered. The book is ample in form, scope, and detail. Dom McCann's English is excellent; the original

is the work of the Superior-General of the French Benedictines and its merits have been guaranteed by the distinguished author of *Benedictine Monasticism.* Abbot Cuthbert Butler has expressed the opinion that Dom Delatte's commentary is the best of all modern studies of the Rule of St. Benedict and deserves to take its place with the three classical commentaries which have preceded it—those of Paul the Deacon, of Haeften and of Calmet. To quote this encomium is to dispense ourselves from further commendation of a book of whose excellence Benedictines themselves must evidently be the supreme judges. As compared with Abbot Butler's own book, reviewed not long ago in STUDIES, it supplements the latter by its greater fulness of document and reference and its exegetic minuteness : it is less historical, more practical. The author tells us that his "concern is with the soul and the supernatural life," and his main purpose to "keep alive among the sons of Dom Guéranger the true spirit of monasticism."

G. O'N.

GOD AND THE SUPERNATURAL. Edited by Father Cuthbert, O.S.F.C. London : Longmans. 1920. 15*s.* net.

A BOOK written by half a dozen Catholic graduates of the University of Oxford, in an endeavour (as the Preface says) "to set forth the doctrine of the faith they hold, in language intelligible to the ordinary educated reader." "And they are not," as one of them writes, "expounding a metaphysical theism, but the fundamental doctrines of a revealed theology."

We fear the book will scarcely achieve the aim its authors set themselves. It cannot be said to "expound the fundamental doctrines of revealed theology." These we take to be the Existence of God ; Divinity of Christ ; Foundation of one visible, ethically necessary, infallible Church ; which is the Catholic Church in communion with the See of Rome ; and they are either not dealt with at all, or only cursorily and on the whole unsatisfactorily dealt with, by the essayists.

Nor do we think that the language of the writers is sufficiently "intelligible to the ordinary educated reader." It is highly artificial often, intelligible no doubt to a small circle of the initiated, but not readily to be understood by those who are without. What, for instance, is the "ordinary educated reader" to make of a sentence such as this : "The individual ever possesses self-consciousness, not indeed the exclusive self-consciousness of the natural self, but an individual reception of the God-consciousness in which

it must know itself in God as a distinct being from Him ; also it possesses self-volition, not the self-actuated and exclusive conation of the natural self, but an individual reception of the will of God." And such language abounds, and makes the reading of the book a frequent weariness.

Worse still, the exposition of Catholic doctrine is at times inaccurate. Thus, there is a section on "The Supernatural," in which the Supernatural is never accurately defined. It is even identified persistently with "the superhuman," with "the free gift, offered by God to man, and by man freely appropriated, of a way of being . . . higher than what is co-natural to him." We can only remark here that the superhuman may be, in countless cases is, merely natural ; and that the "free gift of being" referred to need not be, in countless cases is not, freely appropriated by man. Again, it is incorrect to say that divine love could not forgive sin without "repentance and reparation ;" that "the possibility of sin for all, and consequently the practical necessity of sin for some at least, is involved in the existence of human free will ;" that "a sigh, a hope, a prayer is indeed enough" to make men God's children "when nothing more is possible" ; that "Christian marriage can never be dissolved ;" that "three wills must always, in this matter of the Sacraments, co-operate, God's the minister's, and the recipients" : and the list might be largely added to.

There is much in the book which is beautiful, much which is helpful. It is a pity that greater care was not bestowed upon it, to bring it within the range of ordinary readers, and to make it a source of assured Catholic teaching to them. P. F.

THE CATHOLIC DOCTRINE OF GRACE. By G. H. Joyce, S.J. London : Burns, Oates and Washbourne. 1920. 6*s.* net.

THERE are few, if any, matters connected with the spiritual life and doctrine of the Church concerning which the ordinary Catholic has such inadequate notions as on the doctrine of Grace and Merit. Yet there is no subject where a deepening of knowledge will be more fruitful of spiritual progress, and few which have been so misunderstood and misrepresented by those outside the Church. In great part this is due to the fact that we Catholics do not take the light of our Catholic learning from under the covering obscurity of the Latin tongue and let it shine forth in vernacular clarity.

Father Joyce has very effectively dispelled the obscurity in the present volume, and has given us a singularly lucid and well written exposition of all the subjects included in the ordinary Latin treatises

on Grace and Merit. He has avoided subtle and metaphysical controversy ; there is not a word about the great Trojan war between Dominican and Jesuit. He eschews pedantic or even learned and useful but cumbersome references. He contents himself with presenting to us the gifts of God in all their simple and brilliant supernatural beauty. He brings us into the treasure house of God and leaves us to contemplate and long for and acquire the pearls without price therein contained.

The book is rich in classical and apt quotations from Scripture, and for those who are not professional theologians and it is for these Father Joyce writes—we know no book from which they can get such a clear and vivid appreciation of the good gifts of God in the world of Grace. We recommend it strongly to laymen or religious who wish to deepen their knowledge of Catholic truth and enrich their spiritual life more and more with the sap of the Vine ; and to priests as perhaps the most convenient volume for instructions on Grace ; and to inquirers anxious to know what we believe about the inner workings of our supernatural life. Theological students and professors will still find Pohle-Preuss's volume on Grace more useful for their purposes.

In his doctrine Father Joyce has simply followed the standard treatises. There is only one point on which we should wish to join issue with him—his view on the mode of revival of past merits after mortal sin and conversion. We prefer the opposing view, which we look on as certain, that past merits revive with their whole essential reward, grace, and virtues, in the same degree in which they were had before the lapse into mortal sin, increased by the merit attached to the act of repentance or love. This view is more in keeping with the teaching of Trent and Scripture and with all we know of God's love and mercy, Who forgets the evil and remembers only the good in those who turn to Him. Finally, it has the greater weight of theological authority in its support ; while the arguments of the supporters of Father Joyce's view leave one cold and unconvinced. St. Thomas's view on the subject is not quite so clear as Father Joyce suggests. J. C. J.

Social Science.

SOME ETHICAL ASPECTS OF THE SOCIAL QUESTION. By Rev. Walter McDonald, D.D. London : Burns, Oates and Washbourne. 1920. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.

A WIDE and very hearty welcome is certain to be extended to this posthumous work from the pen of the late Dr. McDonald of May-

nooth. The book is typical of its author as he was known to the students of Maynooth, and especially as he was known to the smaller number of these students who had the privilege of studying under his direction as Prefect of the Dunboyne Establishment. It would be difficult, I believe, to find a professor who taught his students less and gave them more education than Dr. McDonald. In every question which he touched he had his own characteristic method of approach and treatment, and his conclusions (often differing from those generally accepted), were always held with a personal and almost partisan intensity. My own experience was that the students rarely agreed with the views and theories which were peculiar to himself. But whatever conclusions they formed, they held with enlightened conviction, because they had not been allowed to content themselves with what this one or that one told them about anything, but had been compelled to envisage every question for themselves. They were taught to go straight to the very kernel and examine it according to the recognised principles of Theology, until finally they arrived at a conclusion which should be not only in conformity with Catholic teaching, but which in addition should satisfy all the legitimate requirements of reason and fit in with whatever habitual convictions they already held. Dr. McDonald was absolutely intolerant of what he used to call watertight mental compartments. He never could allow himself or anyone else to have it both ways on any subject.

These and other well known characteristics of the late professor are strikingly revealed in this volume on Social Ethics. The conclusions definitely put forward are its least importance. Not that Dr. McDonald would ever permit one to make light of his conclusions. Like every other earnest student he set high value on the results of his labour, and he was always somewhat inclined to pride himself on his strictly scientific accuracy. Many will, doubtless, recall the occasion when in the course of his defence of the policy of the "Hazel Switch"—a policy which, by the way, he has definitely abandoned in this volume—he appealed to Economic Science, and was twitted by the Editor of the *Leader*, who remarked that except for himself and Dr. McDonald no one bothered about Economic Science in that controversy.

It is as a stimulant to thought that the real value of the book consists. You may agree with Dr. McDonald or you may not. That is really a secondary and comparatively small matter. You cannot, if you read the book seriously, avoid some hard and profitable thinking on your own part. You will have to free your mind from a number of vague preconceived notions; you will have to

consider aspects of the subject which never occurred to you before ; and unless you are too lazy you will lay aside this small volume with a clearer understanding of the problems which it raises and with a more efficient mental equipment for playing a true man's part in the great social arena with which these problems are concerned.

Some people will find it hard to understand how a book can be recommended apart from the validity of its main conclusions. What these people want is an easy treatise which will give them the mental satisfaction of agreeable solutions of problems in which they think they ought to be interested, without putting them to the trouble of difficult thinking. Such may be advised not to touch this volume. There is no reason why they should. The pabulum they want they can find in abundance elsewhere. The entire social problem they can find solved to their satisfaction a number of times every year in perfectly innocuous articles and books. They can read the solutions easily and leisurely for themselves, enjoy the feeling that they have done all that is required of them, and leave the situation to grow, as it is growing, more and more menacing. One of the most disquieting features of the present situation is the deep chasm which appears to exist between the hard facts of what is called the social question and most of the current literature on the subject. Perhaps it is because they are hopeless about the practical solution that so many appear to find satisfaction in fancy solutions on paper.

In addition to thoroughness and sincerity old friends will find another no less valued characteristic of Dr. McDonald in evidence in this volume. That is his very comprehensive human sympathy. Although he addresses himself with special intimacy to his fellow priests, he shows that he is able to appreciate the view point of everyone who is interested in the problems he is discussing. No one who knew him will be in the least surprised to find him arguing the principle behind the opposition to non-union labour with a working mason. And surely this is a most valuable asset for a writer on the social question. Unless we imagine that we can settle industrial problems over the heads of those who are most immediately concerned, we must be prepared to take account of the views, feelings and even the prejudices of the workers. If we cannot induce workers to agree to some working arrangement which they recognise as reasonable, while we may construct theories ideally perfect, we shall never advance one step towards a practical solution.

With some of the views put forward in this book I disagree ; with most of them I find myself in thorough agreement. It will

probably be felt that the author was somewhat unfair in his references to the part played by the Dublin priests in the great Larkin strike. And more general exception will be taken to the suggestion more than once repeated that the Irish priests, from something in the nature of a class prejudice, are not so sympathetic with the present labour struggle as they were, for instance, with the land struggle in the last generation. But no one, I am sure, will question the excellent motives of Dr. McDonald ; and in any case, it is a salutary thing for priests that their attention should be directed by a well meaning brother priest to certain considerations, to which, although they may not advert to them themselves, it is of vital importance that they should be thoroughly alive. J. K.

THE HISTORY OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT. By Dr. F. Müller-Lyer. Translated by Elizabeth Coote Lake and H. A. Lake. London : Allen and Unwin. 1920. 18*s.* net.

THE German writer, of whose work this is a translation, professes to apply the comparative method of exact sciences to Sociology or Human *Kultur*—a vast subject, comprising the propagation of the human race, the development of social organisation, the growth of religion, ethics, art and natural science. The method consists first in gathering together the important facts ; then, in inferring certain phases of development ; lastly in searching for the laws which govern the formation of these phases. The first portion of the book contains a study of the degrees of economic progress ; the second deals with the phenomena of the propagation of the human species (courtship, marriage, the family, kinship), in the third part is traced the rise of social organisation from the Horde to the Modern Great Power ; the fourth part treats of the history of the human intellect, *i.e.*, the growth of speech, of knowledge, of philosophic opinion, and religious belief ; lastly, the evolution of ethics, justice and art is studied.

A person who happens on the book and casually turns over its pages will be struck by many interesting tit-bits of information scattered here and there, and drawn from an astonishing wide range of learning, history, biography, travel, natural science, philosophy, etc. The mentioning of this as a chief merit of the book would, however, we are sure, arouse the indignation of the professor who meant his work to be a serious scientific treatise to be read with concentrated and persistent attention.

Any student who is sufficiently educated not to allow himself to be obfuscated by a portentous display of big scientific terms

will find little real value in the book. The " phaseological " hobby of the professor carries him constantly into absurdities ; indeed, much of his book reads as a parody or an extravaganza. An excessive desire to discover phases of development tempts to simplification, and simplification is a very dangerous process to apply to problems such as those of social development, in which the factors making for the final result are of almost infinite number, variety and complication.

Moreover, the materialism which pervades the whole book robs it of almost all scientific reliability. There can be no true science of sociology unless account be taken of all the facts which bear on the developments of human progress. Yet some of these facts are deliberately ignored by the writer. He assigns no value to the influence, often so decisive, of individuals of exceptionally powerful intellect or commanding personality ; while as for Christianity or any of the manifestations of supernatural influence the professor does not even mention them to reject them. As an example of his phaseology we may summarise his account of the genesis of human beings. We are descended from some of the lower forms of animals. This the professor treats not as an hypothesis but as a proven scientific fact. Our race could not have sprung from the chimpanzee or the gorilla ; for these are not gregarious as man is. He must therefore have descended from some form of the baboon, which is a gregarious animal. Some herd of these creatures, owing to some circumstance—we do not know what it was, but it must have occurred—abandoned their native trees and took to living on the ground. This was the first great epoch-making event in our history. " The peaceful vegetarian evicted from his tree became a hunter and a fighter. In this arena war, hunting, insecurity and constant danger called forth all his powers." The next epoch-making event in our development was the invention of speech, to which our ancestors in their new and dangerous surroundings were inevitably forced. Speech was indeed only an improvement of a gift possessed by many other animals, fowls and doves having twelve different sounds, dogs fifteen, horned cattle twenty-two, apes twenty. In the everlasting warfare between the different hordes of men this useful means of communication kept improving and become the parent of human intellect. " The much disputed but far-seeing utterance of Lazarus Geiger ' speech has created reason ' is perfectly true. Only when we have learnt to understand this wonderful phrase with the depths of our psychological knowledge do we get the right insight into its epoch-making importance." " Abstract thought is a gift of speech only. This is the true solution

of a puzzle which even the great Kant in the *Critique of Pure Reason* declares insoluble." One can see how the development of man's other prerogatives, scientific knowledge, artistic taste, religion, etc., are plain sailing for the professor.

We notice that the translators expressly say they do not stand over all the opinions of the book. They did not, however, consider, as we do, that the perverse teaching of the professor might, in spite of its foolish garb, do considerable harm to the students of the London School of Economics. L. McK.

Studies in National Character.

1. *THE GROUP MIND.* A Sketch of the Principles of Collective Psychology, with Some Attempt to Apply them to the Interpretation of National Life and Character. By William McDougall, F.R.S. London: Cambridge University Press. 1920. 21*s.* net.

PSYCHOLOGY has hitherto concerned itself mainly with the study of the qualities, the make-up, the workings of human faculties—a man's senses, imagination, memory, intellect, will, his consciousness and sub-consciousness. But in recent years it has stepped beyond this sphere and begun to explore a new region, namely men, not in isolation, but in groups and *as* groups. This new branch of the science, which (let us say at once) is distinct from sociology, is often referred to as collective psychology or, less technically, the study of the "crowd mind" or of the "herd instinct." It is based upon the theory that a group, crowd, or society, in the psychological sense of these words, has a sort of personality, and therefore a life, a mind—some would even say a consciousness—of its own; that it thinks, wills, feels, and acts collectively. It is easy to see at once the interesting possibilities of such a study. Might not goodly store of knowledge, of practical wisdom be gained by learning the characteristics, the ways of acting, the influence on their component individuals, of such groups as a class (or form) of boys, a mob, a national army, a religious community, a nation?

In the last twenty years there has appeared a certain number of studies of the crowd spirit from Gustave le Bon's *Psychologie des Foules* to Sir Martin Conway's *The Crowd in Peace and War*. The important book before us is by one of the best-known writers on psychology and is the fruit of many years of study. It is indeed a sequel of an earlier book (*Introduction to Social Psychology*, 1908),

and presupposes its principles, among which is the uncompromising application of the evolutionary theory.[1]

In the First Part, in which he lays down the general principles that govern the group mind, the author is at his best. If the style is somewhat arduous for the reader, the psychological descriptions and analysis are admirable. We may sum up this first part as an attempt to solve a curious paradox of which most people must be at least dimly aware.

> On the one hand participation in group life degrades the individual, assimilating his mental processes to those of the crowd, whose brutality, inconstancy, and unreasoning impulsiveness have been the theme of many writers; yet only by participation in group life does man become fully man, only so does he rise above the level of the savage. (P. 20).

The problem is of the very highest interest practical as well as speculative, and the author solves it with the ability to be expected of him. He fully recognises the lowering influence of the mob or unorganized crowd, but explains the conditions which may raise collective mental life to a higher level than the unorganized crowd can reach and which favour and render possible the formation of a group mind.

In the Second Part the author, if I may venture to say so, enters upon ground where he treads less surely. He now proceeds to study the national mind and character in the light of his general principles. He has first to answer the question, What is a Nation? For him it is "a people enjoying some degree of political independence and possessed of a national mind and character and therefore of national volition and national deliberation." (P. 100). Let us remark in passing that the first clause has nothing to do with the principles he has laid down and is not elsewhere referred to in the discussion.

Next he studies the factors that contribute to the formation of a national mind and character. In the forefront of these we are disappointed to find the lamentable concept of *race* as a method explaining historical and social facts, a method to which, we had thought, writers such as J. M. Robertson and Jean Finot had given the *coup de grace*.[2] True the Professor holds the theory in a some-

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[1] "All psychologists agree that man has evolved from pre-human ancestors whose lives were dominated by instincts" (*Introduction*, p. 23). That "all" is somewhat characteristic.

[2] In a chronicle in the September number of STUDIES we drew attention to a number of more recent works in which this race theory is rejected and refuted. Their view is neatly summed up in the saying of Fernand Lot, "La question de race est une triste superstition: la race est l'effet et non la cause."

what mitigated form, though his very moderate statement of it on page 200 is at variance with his previous applications of it (see, for instance, p. 118). Along with the race theory we have all the old anthropological spectres—the Homo Mediterraneus, the Homo Alpinus, and the Homo Europaeus. This last has all the Professor's sympathies. This human type is the tall, fair dolichocephalic Nordic race, " mentally of great independence of character, individual initiative, and tenacity of will," of which the British people is the purest representative. This Homo Europaeus, the Professor goes on, is Protestant, the Homo Alpinus and the rest being Catholic or Greek Orthodox. Why ? Not because of certain definite and well-known historical circumstances, but because the Nordic peoples have chosen a form of religion in harmony with " the independence of spirit which is their leading racial quality." (P. 115). This is but a specimen of the results to which such a theory leads.

The author in fact falls into a habit, too common among specialists, of reasoning in blinkers—trotting contentedly ahead along the narrow path of their particular science without a glance at the fields that lie to right or left. The facts of history or of geography or of ethnography seem at times to be as nothing to him, and a large and emphatic statement stands in place of proof.[1] We do not expect him to acknowledge as a factor of history the action of God's Providence : he sets it aside as a childish concept. But there is another essential factor in the making of history which he seems persistently to ignore—men's conscious purposes, deliberate will, or mere caprice, in other words the moral factor based on free will. But these remarks, after all, apply to a portion only of the work.

In the Third Part the author takes up the study of the growth and development of national character and of what we now call nationality. Much of this—notably the chapters on the race-making (prehistoric) period—is highly speculative, but there is much which is practical and of the highest interest.

Finally, in five or six passages (only one of which is mentioned in the Index) Professor McDougall gives his views on Ireland. Though these views are embodied in mere incidental references, still from the whole trend of the argument in the latter part of the book the conclusion clearly emerges that, if there be any people which possesses fully the qualifications for nationhood, that people is the Irish.

S. J. B.

[1] This is particularly noticeable in the elaborate attempt (p. 124 sqq) to fit the United States into the theory of homogeneity of race as essential for the national mind.

L'AME DE L'IRLANDE. Par Xavier Moisant. Paris : Beauchesne. 1920. 6 fr.

THIS is the third work of the trilogy[1] that Père Moisant has dedicated to the study of the Irish question, and the best. Indeed we know no better book of like compass (for it is a modest volume of 162 pages) on certain aspects of the problem. It is a fitting complement to Treguiz, and an adequate answer to Escouflaire.

Père Moisant is less concerned with the historical antecedents of the present situation than with current objections. Obviously he has in mind the kind of adversary to Irish claims that British propaganda endeavours to create in other lands, and he takes up one by one the various pleas that, doubtless, he has often heard urged around him. He examines them very temperately and judicially, and shows how weak they are. In doing so he displays an accurate and intimate knowledge of the subject, as well as a sympathetic insight into the psychology of the Irish attitude. He has studied closely the various phases of the new movement, and sees how fundamentally one it is with the aspirations of the past. As Catholic and Frenchman he is well qualified to interpret the soul of Ireland, and as a serious student of our history, past and present, he realises the magnitude of the issues involved.

He first considers the results of all the recent elections in Ireland and their significance, which he finds clear enough. He then asks why the ascertained will of the Irish people should not prevail in their own land, and confronts Englishmen with the statements of their rulers during the war, which were too frequent and too formal to be forgotten overnight. He next examines the heads of indictment urged against the Irish people under the titles "L'Irlande cléricale," "L'Irlande divisée," "L'Irlande criminelle," "L'Irlande égoiste," and has little difficulty in refuting them. He concludes with a section on the National Genius of Ireland and the Gaelic Revival.

L'Ame de l'Irlande deserves to be widely read, not only abroad but even here at home. It is useful and consoling to see how a capable and dispassionate critic views the arguments *pro* and *con*. For there are many amongst us who reverse Dr. Johnson's practice and seem always ready to "give the Whig dogs the best of it." Their minds have been so long dominated by the English Press, and by its echo in our midst, that they have grown, unconsciously no doubt, to regard Fleet Street as the ultimate criterion of truth. It will be well for them occasionally to hear an echo from the larger and fairer court of appeal known as world opinion. *Securus iudicat orbis terrarum.*

P. J. G.

[1] *Pour Comprendre l'Irlande, La Fortune de l'Irlande, L'Ame de l'Irlande.*

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